THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

RUFUS KING

VOLUME III.

1799-1801

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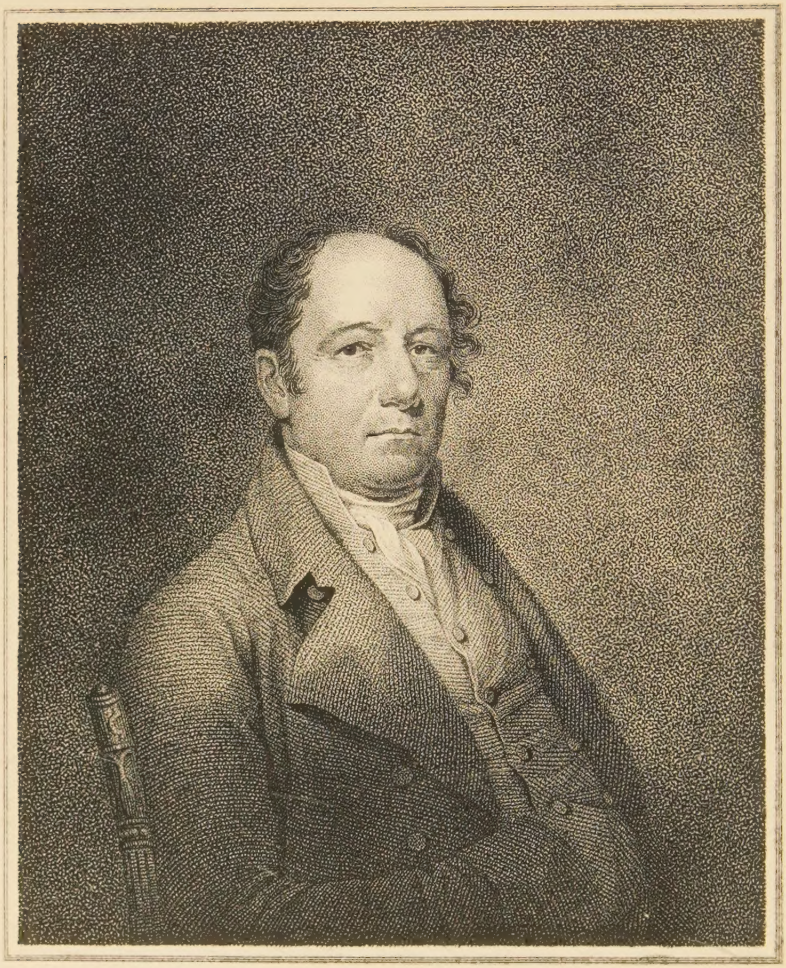

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

RUFUS KING

COMPRISING HIS LETTERS, PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL
HIS PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND
HIS SPEECHES

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON

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HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

VOLUME III.

1799-1801

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CHARLES R. KING

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

This third volume takes up the correspondence at the point of time when President Adams had proposed to send a new embassy to France to take advantage of what appeared to him an opportunity to settle the questions which had caused the breaking off the amicable relations with France and the annulling of the treaty with that country. Constant decrees against all vessels carrying articles of the growth or manufacture of England or its colonies and confiscations under them were aimed chiefly against the commerce of the United States, and the President hoped through the instrumentality of a new commission to France to restore the harmony and peaceful conditions between the two nations. As is well known this course was disapproved of by the Federalists generally, and with other causes led to a want of confidence and good feeling between them, and resulted in his failure to be re-elected to the Presidency. The history of this unfortunate event, of the change of administration caused by the election of Jefferson, and of the policy which he adopted, are the subjects which fill the letters of Mr. King's correspondents in the United States, often revealing in their remarks his own opinions. Abroad he is shown to have earnestly endeavored to bring to a conclusion the questions in dispute between the United States and Great Britain, hopeful, yet constantly disappointed by evasions and delays on the part of Great Britain, explained partly by the pressure of her relations with France and the continent, and partly by a change of ministry. Of the events on the continent during this period the

Secretary of State was regularly and intelligently advised, the letters giving a full account of their constantly changing political as well as military aspects.

There are also some interesting memoranda of men and measures from his private books in an Appendix and in the body of the volume. Among them are conversations with Miranda which show that he sought Mr. King and voluntarily laid before him his plans and his relations with the British Government, after Mr. King had informed him that he would converse with him about them without committing himself or his government to any approval of them, but for the purpose of gaining information to transmit to the President respecting the important measures suggested, being matters of the deepest interest to his own country. Not a word of the Hamiltonian plot charged against General Hamilton, but rather showing that he was not anxious to do anything to forward the proposed project.

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Mr. King expected early in 1797 soon to return Home—In 1797 he made Arrangements for a longer Residence abroad—Sends his Sons to Harrow—Once a great Smoker—Gave up Smoking—Pickering to King—Agreement with General Maitland relative to St. Domingo—Cabot to King—President's Alienation from Hamilton and his Friends—Unsuccessful Endeavor to change this—Gerry a Solitary—Murray's Nomination—The Directory said to intend sending Lafayette as Ambassador to the United States—Cannon for Charleston—King to be sent Ambassador to Russia—Marshall chosen for Congress from Virginia—Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions—Troup to King—Federal Success in New York—Jay's Administration not successful—The President at Braintree—King to Secretary of State—French military Movements—King to Lord Grenville—Detention of Ship *Prosper*, with United States Arms on Board—Pickering relative to Misinterpretation of 18th Article of the Treaty—King to Lord Grenville—No News of Troubles of Commission in Philadelphia—Pickering—Trial of Insurgents in Pennsylvania—King to Hamilton—Continental Affairs . 1

CHAPTER II.

King to Lord Grenville—Blockade of the United Provinces—Request for Release of American Vessels—To Count de Woronzow—Russian Treaty—To Secretary of State—Interruption of Commission under 6th Article—Blockade of the United Provinces—To Lord Loughborough—Maryland Bank—To Troup—Cannot understand Affairs at Home—Pickering to King—Captain Loring's Insult to American Flag—Mission to Constantinople—King to Lord Grenville—Complains of the Vice-Admiralty Courts—To Secretary of State—Mission to Constantinople and to Russia—Cabot to King—Dissatisfaction with President—Lawrance to King, relative to the 8 per cent. Loan—Great Demand for Credits in Bank—Pickering to King—St. Domingo—Toussaint promises Safety to Commerce—King to Pickering—Disapproves of the Nomination to France—Recommends Prudence in Dealing with her—English Opinion on French Affairs—Trade with Russia—Troup to King—Latter's Remarks about English Courts—St. Domingo—East India Trade—Confidence in Adams's Discretion impaired—King to Lord Grenville on Provisions of the 18th Article of the Treaty 20

CHAPTER III.

PAGE

Cabot to King—Doubts Toussaint's Plans, and Wisdom of Interference with Colonies of European Neighbors—La Fayette's Mission to the United States—King to Hamilton—Continental Affairs—To Secretary of State—Condition of War in Europe—Ames to King—France must be fought with till fought down—Review of Affairs at Home—Prospect more favorable—Trade flourishes—King to Secretary of State—Conference with Lord Grenville relative to Proceedings of Commissioners under the 6th Article—Their Secession would cause those under the 7th to be stopped, notwithstanding King's Remonstrances—St. Domingo—Pickering to King—Directs him to persevere in denying the Right of British Men-of-War to take any Man whatever from our Ships of War 37

CHAPTER IV.

Letters to and from Dr. Drury—Sons' Education—King to Lord Grenville—Blockade of Dutch Ports—Suspension of Commissioners under 7th Article—To Pickering—Silence about Situation of those under 6th Article—Blockade of Dutch Ports—Detention in England of Ship *Providence*—To Lord Grenville—Blockade not effective and Detentions of Vessels unjust—To Secretary of State on the Blockade—Always remonstrates when American Property captured—England will not change her Policy towards Neutrals—Vice-Admiralty Courts filled by incompetent Judges—Our Case not peculiar—Other Neutrals suffer also—Sees no Remedy—Recaptures—Impressment, English will not agree on a Convention—Contraband, not able to conclude an explanatory Article—King to Secretary of State—French meet with ruinous Defeats—Jacobin Revolution in Paris—St. Domingo—To the Sec. of State—Treaties with Barbary Powers should call for Payments in Money or Products of the U. S.—To Hamilton—Continental Affairs—King to S. Bourne—Advises American Vessels should remain at Amsterdam 48

CHAPTER V.

King to Pickering—Smith's Mission to Constantinople delayed—Expedition to Holland—Revolution in Paris jacobinical—To Sir J. Nichol—Trade between Surinam and Holland—Sedgwick to King—President's Course relative to France disapproved—Genl. Marshall's Election will give Tone to federal Politics South—Delay in raising the Army—Death of Govr. Sumner—Western New York prosperous—People happy—Massachusetts' Affairs—King to Secretary of State—Talleyrand's Resignation—Danes and Swedes exclude Privateers from their Ports—Consul from Denmark—Bonaparte's Retreat from

PAGE

Acre—King to E. Nepean—Claim for Indemnity for a Broadside fired into an American Ship—To Lord Grenville, complaining of Conduct of Govr. of St. Helena—Contraband of War in West Indies—Piracy of Crew of American Brig *Nancy*—Vessels illegally condemned in Jamaica—To Wm. Fawkener—Asks Permission to export Copper—King's Remonstrances against British Acts 65

CHAPTER VI.

Silverhjehm to King—American Vessel runs down a Swedish Cutter—Protest of the Latter's Captain—Pickering to King—Commissioners under the 6th Article—Causes of Separation and Comment—Remedy must be by Negotiation—King rents a country Place—King to Lord Elgin, Ambassador to the Porte—Views relative to intended U. S. Mission to Constantinople—To Lord Grenville—President's Proclamation—The Trade with St. Domingo—To E. Benson—Government of France embarrassed—Allies full of Courage—To Secretary of State—Delays in Negotiations—Vessels detained at St. Helena restored—Continental Affairs—English Expedition to Holland started—In Paris, the Directory have shut up the Clubs—Troup to King—Captures of Vessels in the West Indies—Commissioners under 6th Article—Mission to France—General Davie appointed—Gore to King—Work of Commission under 7th Article not to be resumed at Present—Bingham to King—Dissatisfaction with Mission to France, though perhaps the Time opportune—Affairs in United States prosperous, though yellow Fever has appeared again 78

CHAPTER VII.

Pickering to King—Character of the Commissioners under Article 6, and Points of Disagreement—Desire of the President to do Justice; will propose an explanatory Article—Trumbull to King—Resignation of Sir James Marriott—King to Secretary of State—English landed in Holland—Prussia proposes the Restoration of the Prince of Orange—French Defeats in Switzerland—Want of Union among the Allies—Cabot to King—Feeling against Appointment of Ministers to France; it will probably cause Apprehension in England and Russia—King to Count Rumford, urging him to visit the United States—They have established a Military Academy, and would commit it to his Superintendence—To Secretary of State—Baron Silverhjehm's Letter—Expedition to Holland; Russians join it—To Mr. Hammond—Explanatory Article relative to the 18th Article of the Treaty—Rumford to King; would gladly visit the United States and accept the Offer of the Executive Government—His present Engagements prevent this . 95

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE

King to Lord Grenville—Impressment of an American Sailor in Lisbon by the *Mermaid*—Outrages against American Citizens in Jamaica by British Officers—Strong Demands for Redress—Cabot to King—The President persists in sending the Envoys—Earnest Efforts to prevent it—Thinks of the Difficulties to King in Consequence in England—Hale to King—Anxiety caused by the President's Policy towards France—Pleased that King is in England at this Time—Cabot to King—The President's Course reprobated—King to Lord Grenville—Argument against the Impressment of Seamen and other international Questions—Injurious Acts of Sir Hyde Parker—Earnest Appeal to Lord Grenville 108

CHAPTER IX.

King to Secretary of State—Conference with Lord Grenville on the Withdrawal of the Commissioners under the 6th Article—Lord Grenville in one of the Conferences said that the U. S. in publishing its Ministers' Dispatches must inspire Caution in making Communications to them—King had observed a Coldness towards the U. S. and consequently he had been more reserved also—Character and Principles of the British Government—States his Reasons and gives in Cipher the Conversations held with Lord Grenville—King to Secretary of State—Said he had referred to an explanatory Article to Lord Grenville, who preferred to await further News—Admiral Pringle's Proclamation against Whalers at the Cape of Good Hope—The President to Pickering—Explanatory Article—Cabot to King—Mission to France suspended—It will be difficult to recover what had been gained in public Opinion—The pecuniary Troubles in G. Britain and their Consequences—King to Secretary of State—Reverses of the Allies—Bankruptcies on the Continent—Consuls in France improperly giving irregular consular Papers to Vessels bought in France—Maryland Bank Mystery and Delay in Settlement 122

CHAPTER X.

King to Secretary of State—No Instructions relative to Commission in Philadelphia—Regrets it because the Mission to France is on its Way—Estimate of Affairs on the Continent—Unfavorable to the Allies—Troup to King—Sailing of the Envoys—Evil Effects of the Action of the President—Especially on the next presidential Election—Pickering to King—Envoys sailed—Character of their Instructions confined to making commercial Regulations—Cabot to King—Apprehensions from the Mission—Jacobin Overthrow—Effect of Suspension of specie Payments in England—Sedgwick to King—Facts relative to the President's Decision—Loss of Confidence in his Wis-

PAGE

dom and Prudence—Will cause Division among the Federalists—Candidate for Speaker—Measures that should be taken by Congress—J. Trumbull to King—Relative to the Publication of N. Webster's Epidemics—King to Lord Grenville—Complains of continued Depredations in American Seas by Admiral Sir Hyde Parker's Squadron, and asks that prompt Remedy may be afforded—King to Secretary of State—Regrets he had not received the Report of Commission under 6th Article—Report that the Mission to France had not sailed led him to a Conference with Lord Grenville, which he gives . . 139

CHAPTER XI.

Sedgwick to King—Bad Effect of possible Disbandment of the Army—Loan would be necessary to maintain it and increase the Navy—Next presidential Election—Confidence that Federalists will succeed—King to Secretary of State—Threatened Withdrawal of Russian Troops—Want of Confidence in the Austrians—Russia makes Treaty with Denmark, etc.—What Effect will this have on American Commerce with France, and with the Conduct of England?—Restoration of Commerce with France may help Negotiations in England—Make her restrain Abuses—Consider stopping Impressment—King to Troup—Consuls named Talleyrand to meet the Envoys—Louis XVII.—King to H. Grant relative to the Capture of the *Woodrop Sims*, with U. S. Arms on Board, by the French—To Comte Wedel Jarlsberg—Laws of the U. S. relative to Inheritances—To N. Low—Recommendation of B. Dandridge in business Relations—Sedgwick to King—Death of General Washington—Shall the Army continue to be recruited?—If Treaty with France made, it would be disbanded—President will probably be authorized to stop Enlistments—General Marshall is much relied on—Sedgwick hopes no Treaty with France will be made—King to O. Wolcott—Many Embarrassments in England cause Stagnation in Business—No Peace probable—King to Pickering—Little Probability of Peace—The Effect of the Mission—Should it succeed, England and Russia would probably be offended—New French Constitution accepted by the People 154

CHAPTER XII.

Condition of European Countries in the Beginning of 1800—Its Relation to the United States—Troup to King—Death of Washington—Plans for honoring his Memory in New York—Oration to be pronounced by G. Morris—A cold historical Narrative—Nothing to move the Feelings—General Mourning—Pickering to King—President will send Mr. Sitgreaves to England about the Interruption of the Commission under the 6th Article—Might not be acceptable to Mr. King—Mr. Sitgreaves's Position—Hamilton to King—Shall the Friends of the

PAGE

Government risk Schism by Attempt to change—Mass of the People want Peace—He wants the Navy increased—Renewed Animosity to England—King to Lord Grenville—No Instructions yet relative to Suspension of Commission under 6th Article—Lord Grenville to King, inclosing Dispatch from Liston and an Article from Pickering to Peter Porcupine justifying the Conduct of the American Commissioners—Requires King not to allow the former to go beyond himself—King to Lord Grenville—Answer to him and justifying his Course in freely communicating with his own Government, though Prudence should be exercised in publishing Information.—Delay in sending King Instructions not for Delay's Sake—Not to await Arrival of the Envoys—Warmly justifies his own Government 167

CHAPTER XIII.

Cabot to King—President in private Circles distrusts France—Opinions of leading Men on the Result of the Mission—Especially of the southern Politicians—King to Secretary of State—Disposition to couple Delay in his Instructions with Mission to France—Has positively stated that is not so—Yet feels himself embarrassed—Nothing will be done until these injurious Suspicions are removed—Envoys not yet in France—England, Russia, and the Porte pledged not to make a separate Peace with France—King to Troup—Thought in England the Envoys will make a Treaty—Cannot see how when Mission once broached it could be laid aside—Lord Buchan—Condolence on the Death of Washington—King to Troup—Death of Washington—His Character a steadying Power—To Secretary of State—Unfair and dishonest Condemnation by French Prize Tribunals used by English Underwriters against Americans—King to Lord Grenville—Georgia Records lost during the War—Sedgwick to King—Bankrupt Bill and proposed Amendments—Pickering to King—Hopes that an equitable Adjustment relative to Commission on 6th Article may soon be made—President's Sense of Injury done by the unjust Suspicions 182

CHAPTER XIV.

Sedgwick to King—His Task to accommodate the Differences with G. Britain—France's Conduct viewed with Disgust, even Horror—King to Secretary of State—Russian and Austrian Disagreements, also Austrian and English financial ones settled—Envoys at Corunna—King to Lord Grenville—Relative to the Disagreement of the Commission at Philadelphia—To Secretary of State—Speaks of Conference above referred to—Scarcity of Bread in Great Britain—Expedition preparing possibly to assist the Revolt of the Spanish Colonies—To Pickering—Will be glad to see Mr. Sitgreaves—Envoys to France—Insurance in England affected by Decisions of French

PAGE

Courts—To Secretary of State—On the News of the Death of Washington, he put his Family in Mourning—Attending next Levee of the King and of the Queen—Neither made Allusion to the Event—Concerted Neglect—Dinner at Carleton House a Year before; Washington toasted—The Prince of Wales broke up the Party—General News 191

CHAPTER XV.

Bingham to King—England may declare Blockade of French Ports—Not advantageous to the U. S.—At Home antifederal Party gaining Ground—Fall of Prices in Europe injurious to Merchants—King to Sec'y of State—Envoys arrived—Troup to King—Gov. Jay living too retired—Beneficial Use of Oxygen Gas in Consumption—Jay may retire—Should declare his Intentions—Coming Elections—Deep-rooted Disgust with Adams—Cabot to King—Cannot avoid opening an Intercourse with France if she concedes our Demands—Hopes he will remain in England—The Country has the highest Confidence in him—New Alliance with France to be dreaded—King to T. Hume—Missing Georgia Records—To Pickering—Liston's Letters to J. Buchanan—Says he must lead Mr. Adams by the Nose—Constable to King—Envoys arrived—Well received—King to Sec'y of State—Note about 6th Article not yet answered—Campaign on the Continent not yet opened—Intentions of Russia uncertain—To Sec'y of State—Lord Grenville does not wish to enter into formal Discussions relative to explanatory Articles of 6th Article—King to Lord Grenville—About new Commissioners—General Answer to his Communication on that Subject—Lord Grenville's specific Answer to King's Note of 18th Feb'y—Accepting only the Making of a new Board 204

CHAPTER XVI.

King to Secretary of State—Conference with Lord Grenville relative to his Note—Suggests the probable Wisdom of paying a gross Sum for the Settlement of all Claims by British Creditors—To Pickering—Advantages from such a Mode of Settlement—To Secretary of State—Unless Russia unite with the Allies, Denmark and Sweden will continue neutral—Misunderstanding between Russia and the Allies rather increases—Gore to King—Events in the U.S.—Lord Grenville to King—His Report of Conference correct—Suggests the Principle that the Decision of one Cause in a Class of Claims should settle all of this Class—King to Secretary of State—Campaign in Italy recommenced favorably to the Allies—No Change in Russia's Plans—The Terms of Union with Ireland—Simcoe to King—His Conduct in the Government of Canada the reverse of that charged by the Duke of Liancourt-Rochefoucault—He endeavored

PAGE

to preserve Peace—King to Governor of Georgia—Records of Georgia found—To Lord Grenville asking their Restoration—Pickering to King—Speculations as to the coming presidential Election—Public Offices to be removed to Washington in June or July—King to Troup—Presidential Election—Pleasant House nine Miles from London—Must have a Farm—Pickering's Removal—Law of Blockade—Sedgwick to King—Bankrupt Bill passed—Secretary of Treasury to report on Revenue at Beginning of each Session—Influence of Marshall in Legislation—His Character—Strong reasoning Powers, but weakens their Influence frequently before exerting them—An Instance in the Passage of a Law for counting the Votes for President in Case of a Dispute—His Objections, though abandoned, caused it to be lost—Adams and Pinckney will be the federal Candidates 221

CHAPTER XVII.

J. Hale to King—Adams must be the Candidate for President—New York against Jefferson—Strong elected Governor over Gerry—Gore to King—Conversation with Liston about 6th Article—Bayard Died—King to Secretary of State—Attempted Assassination of the King—Moreau defeats the Austrians on the Rhine—Misunderstanding between Russia and the Allies increasing—Sweden and Russia offended by England's Capturing merchant Ships under Convoy—Project of uniting the northern Powers against France at an End—King rejoices at its Failure—King to Secretary of State—Eaton wishes him to buy the Presents for the Bey of Tunis promised to him when Treaty of Peace was made—Has no Authority, though he gets an Estimate of Cost—Pickering to King—His Removal from Office—Coalition between Adams and Jefferson—Marshall appointed Secretary of State—Gore to King—Pickering Removed—Pinckney and Adams for President and Vice-President—Cabot to King—Pickering's Removal—Coalition of Adams and Jefferson—England will find Pretence to war on Commerce of United States and France—King to Secretary of State—N. Webster's History of pestilential Diseases—G. Morris to King—Their Friends are in sad Anarchy—A direct Tax always unpopular—King to Secretary of State—The Lord Chancellor thinks a gross Sum the best Way of settling the Differences under the 6th Article—Campaign in northern Italy 240

CHAPTER XVIII.

King to B. West—Monument to Washington—Bushrod Washington to King—Proposes to publish Life of Washington—King to Secretary of State—Jewels for the Bey of Tunis—To N. Webster—Robinson; Objections to publishing his Work—Jay to King—Impatient to learn

PAGE

about the Campaign in Europe—Affairs in United States not Free from Agitation—Federalists not active or united—Their Opponents diligent, united—Troup to King—Dr. Romayne's Plans—Separation, Bitterness, and Hostility among the Federalists—Especially against those of New England—Cannot say who will be the Candidate for Governor—King to General Chalmers and the Governor of Georgia—Trunk containing the Georgia Papers—McHenry to Pickering—Liston's Letter to Buchanan—Pickering to King—Liston's Letter—Explanation by Liston—Not serious—Adams says there is no Coalition with Jefferson—Never said there was a British Faction in the Senate—Violent Feelings against Hamilton—Goodhue to Pickering on this Subject—King to Secretary of State—Disasters to Austrian Army—Probable Treaty of Peace between Austria and France—Dissatisfaction between northern Powers and England—Influence of England on the Continent less than at any Period of the War . . 254

CHAPTER XIX.

N. Low to King—Suggests other Investments than U. S. Loans—King has entire Confidence in the U. S. and its Loans—Hale to King—Hamilton's Visit to Boston—Hale for the Re-election of Adams—King to Lord Grenville—American Vessels captured off Cadiz under Pretence of Breach of Blockade—No Notice of it given—Request that an End be immediately put to these Abuses—To H. Dundas—Maryland Bank Stock—Statement relative to it—F. Ames to King—President's Toast—Intrigues about the Presidency—Hamilton's Visit—Adams's Violent Language—Speculations relative to the coming Election and the Action of the Jacobins—King to Secretary of State—Treaty between England and Austria loaning Money to the Latter, who shall not make a separate Peace—French so superior to the Austrians they may be obliged to make Peace—Cabot to King—Adams departing from the Policy of 1798 now denounces high Federalists—Congratulates the Country that King is in his Position Abroad 268

CHAPTER XX.

King to Pickering—Unfeigned Regrets at the Changes in the executive Departments—Though with his Reputation pure and unblemished—His Son with him—King to Adams—Danish Frigate resisted a Search of a British Squadron—May increase the Dissatisfaction of northern Powers with England—McHenry to King—Acknowledges with Thanks Faden's Collection of Maps and Count Rumford's Field-Piece—Presidential Election—Bingham to King—Duane's Arrest ordered by the Senate—Absconded until after Session closed—Treated as a persecuted Patriot and Martyr to Liberty of the

PAGE

Press—Lack of Energy in the Government because of jacobinical Principles—Government moved to Washington—A general Peace would be advantageous to this Country—King to Secretary of State—Austria may be obliged to treat with France—English Expedition probably to Belle Isle—Search of Convoy under a Danish Frigate—May lead to important Consequences—Right of Search cannot be submitted to by Neutrals as a Principle, though perhaps in a modified Form—Blockade at Cadiz—Troup to King—New York Legislature consists of the Essence of Jacobinism—Armstrong likely to be made Senator—Hamilton has been, Burr is going, to the East . . . 281

CHAPTER XXI.

Cabot to King—Effect of Election of Adams or Pinckney or Jefferson—Pinckney's Election would array true Men on his Side—Hamilton thinks Jefferson will be chosen—King to President Adams—Envoys' Negotiation with France probably broken off—Ames to King—Shallow Reason, Impulse, Caprice, and Prejudice for Mission to France—Unless Federalists unite and run the two federal Candidates, Jefferson will be elected—Our Government is republican, our Opinions democratic—Adams's Ground the same now as before—Federalists never knew where they were—Clamor loud he is to be sacrificed—Unless Massachusetts Electors vote for Adams and General Pinckney both, Jefferson will be elected—Adams acts as if he did not hate him—Speculations on European Affairs as affecting those of U. S.—King to Pickering—Cannot explain late Occurrences at Home—Choice of Electors in New England—May not the Issue of the Mission to France influence this?—Deprecates the Policy of exciting Prejudices and Passions of New England—Liston's Explanations such as he expected—To Secretary of State—Negotiations between France and Austria going on; both recruiting their Armies—Troup to King—Adams's Letter to French Consul—Jefferson attacked on Ground of his religious Opinions—Burr's Return from the East—Democrats say he is to run with Jefferson 291

CHAPTER XXII.

King to Secy. of State—Expedition to Belle Isle failed—Envoys in Paris—To Smith—Impressment of American Seamen in Lisbon by the English—Complaint properly against Portugal—To Prest. Adams—Unsettled State of Relations between France and Austria may hasten the Work of the Envoys at Paris—Food Riots in London—Ames to King—Will not decide there is a Coalition—But too much Complacency of Adams towards his Antagonist as shown here—A Creature of Impulse—Irritated against sound Men—Thinks it would be a light Matter to have a War with Jefferson, and the Jacobins

PAGE

would prefer Adams to Pinckney—Sedgwick to King—Passion displayed in Dismissal of Pickering displayed now without Disguise —Motives that led to the Election of Adams were with many to prevent that of Jefferson—Adams's Resentment aggravated by subsequent Events—He does not conceal his Opinions—A Consequence the Disorganization of the federal Party—Marshall says Union alone can save the Country—On Massachusetts will depend the Result of the presidential Election—Cabot to King—How to secure neutral Rights—King and Gore quoted as thinking Peace not improbable and as Proof of the Wisdom of Adams's Course 301

CHAPTER XXIII.

King to Secretary of State—Strange Conduct of Emperor of Austria—Reasons for it—English Envoys to be received at the Congress at Luneville—Russia dissatisfied with England—Depredations on American Commerce in West Indies due to pillaging Spirit of English Officers—Mr. Merry to succeed Mr. Liston—Troup to King—Hamilton thinks of publishing Grounds of his Opposition to Adams —Laments the Scattering of Federalists—Insurrection in Virginia—King to Murray—Mode of Expenditure of Money for Claims in the Prize Courts—Under King's Control—Character of them—W. Constable to King—Convention with France signed—First Consul's Toast at Feast in Celebration: Perpetual Amity between France and the United States—King to Smith—The President approves of Purchase of Jewels for Bey of Tunis under the Circumstances—To Discourage Expectation of future Purchases—To Secretary of State —Austria probably to conclude a separate Treaty with France—Crops in England good—Not sufficient for a Year's Supply—King to Lord Grenville—President's Congratulations on the King's Escape from Assassination—To Secretary of State on same Subject—Lord Grenville's Answer to J. White—Acknowledges the Receipt of a Piece of Plate from Lloyd's for Captain Truxton, to be sent to him—Lord Grenville to King—Mr. Soren's Pamphlet—He complains of Inattention to his Business—Denied by Lord Grenville—King to Secretary of State—Convention with France—Lord Grenville finds no Fault except as to Convoys and the Rights of Neutrals—King thought Regulations for Trade of Neutrals might be made by Convoys without affecting injuriously the Right of Search—Lord Grenville admitted the Fairness of the Project—Mr. Merry the Successor of Liston favorably spoken of 313

CHAPTER XXIV.

Mr. Strickland to King—Reprinting his Paper on Agriculture in United States—Objects to minute Division of Land—King to W. Smith—

PAGE

Has declined to advance Funds to pay for Articles ordered by Mr. Eaton for Bey of Tunis—They should be paid for in London or Paris, not through Traders—Troup to King—Strictures on Hamilton's Letter to the President—General Impression injurious to him and his Party—Cabot to King—Treaty with France cannot be a "Subject of Joy"—King to Secy. of State—Reports his Readiness to confer with Ld. Grenville on 6th Article—Relations of Austria and England with France about Peace—Latter wants separate Treaties—England seems ready now to support the First Consul—King will push Conference on 6th Article, but hopes for little while War lasts—Schoenbron to King—Announces to him the Appointment of Minister Resident and Consul-General from Denmark to U. S.—King to Secy. of War—Maps—W. Wilberforce to King—Abolition of the slave Trade—King to Eaton—Gives Reasons for not ordering the Jewels made and sent to Tunis—The President does not see the Necessity, but is impressed with the Impolicy of sending them—Presents from America possibly sufficient—Urges him to try to extricate the Country from Promises of Others—To Secy. of State—Minister from Denmark, why not simply a Consul—Wilberforce to King—Friendly Greetings—How to prosecute Masters of Vessels breaking the Law to prevent slave Trade by American Vessels—Would reporting Names, etc., to the Abolition Society?—Troup to King—Adams and Pinckney will be chosen—Hamilton prefers Jefferson to Adams—Many Answers to his Pamphlet—King to Mr. Netzel relative to Conduct of two American Vessels against a Swedish Cutter 327

CHAPTER XXV.

King to Secretary of State—England and Austria decline, France insists on separate Peace—France hopes to effect Reconciliation with Russia—Prussia cautious—Russia displeased with England—Malta surrendered to the English—France would revive the armed Neutrality—Effect of this on maritime States—King to Wolcott—Sufficient Arms manufactured in the United States—To Secretary of State—England must have Grain—Will take all United States can spare—Temper of England favorable to Negotiations—Should first settle Matter of the 6th Article—Proposal to pay a precise Sum—Calculation of how much—Should not exceed £400,000—J. McHenry to King—Retired from Department of War—Jefferson and Burr President and Vice-President—King to G. Morris—Peace more uncertain—Effort will be made to draw United States into the War—Our Policy Neutrality—Pickering to King—Relative to his Son—Result of the presidential Election—Jefferson incapable of removing his Opponents from Office—If Treaty with France ratified

PEGE

Navy will be hauled up—King to Eaton—Has, under the Secretary's Instructions, ordered the Jewels—If any Payments in making Treaties hereafter, make them as small as possible—Cabot to King —Speculations on Result of the Election—Does not think there will be violent Changes in Office—All calm—Less Exultation on one Side, much less Depression on the other—Hale to King—Federalists prefer Burr to Jefferson—Whichever chosen, Men of Prudence do not expect the Evils predicted, if either elected—Peter Porcupine's Writings serve to feed Jealousies between us and Great Britain—Troup to King —Hamilton says if Burr is elected he will withdraw from the Party and public Concerns—He would ratify French Treaty—His Letter shows he wants Discretion—The Future very uncertain . . . 342

CHAPTER XXVI.

McHenry to King—Jefferson or Burr equal Votes—Whichever chosen, Changes in Conduct of the Government—Burr's Professions of Fidelity to the Wishes and Expectation of the United States—Opposition in violent State of Apprehension lest Jefferson be not chosen—King to Secretary of State—The King's Title changed by adding "and Ireland"—Pickering to King—Jay nominated as Chief Justice, but refused—Both Parties reprobate the Convention with France—Election still doubtful—If Burr, fewer Changes in Office ; If Jefferson, more—Speculations on the possible Result—Lawrance to King—Convention with France—General Wish it should be taken as it is—Changes may bring King Home, where he will be cordially received —King to Secretary of State—France and Austria to treat separately —Probable maritime War between England and the Rest of Europe —This should favor speedy Adjustment of our Affairs with England—Asked to discuss the Arrangements respecting the 6th Article with Mr. Anstey, Lord Grenville pleading Press of Business—If Result satisfactory well, if not will fall back upon an explanatory Article—Lord Grenville to King—Explanation of Captain Bainbridge's entering Harbor of Constantinople with Algerine Flag flying—Objection made—Asked to be put under the Protection of the English Minister—To take down Algerine Flag and substitute the American Pendant—Hale to King—Senate ratified the Convention with France with Modifications—Negotiations with France show a Want of Firmness—Prefers Burr to Jefferson—Richard Peters to King—The pending presidential Election—Turnbull to King—Offer of Services of his Firm at Gibraltar to the Consul there 360

CHAPTER XXVII.

King to Secretary of State—England notifies Members of the Northern Confederacy that she would use all her Resources in Defence of her

PAGE

Rights—If Prussia joins she is cut off from the Continent—Public Opinion disturbed in England—Present Moment favorable for a satisfactory Settlement of United States Affairs—Difficulties, Indecision, and Delay by Ministers—Urges Reforms in Admiralty Courts, and Settlement of Questions under 6th Article—W. Wilberforce to King—Confidence in him—King to Pickering—England excluded from the Continent—America will adhere to her old Maxims—Cabot to King—Federalists prefer Burr—Hope that King will not come Home—Northern Coalition unfavorable to Neutrals—King to Bainbridge, relative to the Misunderstanding at Constantinople—King to Stoddard—Same Subject—Bainbridge to King—Report of the Case—King to Truxton—Lloyd's Gift of Plate to him—King to Troup—News of Jefferson's Election—Hopes for the Best—Northern Confederation—King to Secretary of State—Tenor of the Northern Confederacy not exactly known—Effect on Hanover—League a hostile Aggression to be resisted with Force by England—Conference with Lord Grenville—If Blockade of the Baltic, the United States would claim to enjoy her Rights of Trade—Lord Grenville said a Relaxation with Reference to the United States might be agreed to—Interruption of Trade through New Orleans—Change in English Ministry—Pitt and Colleagues have resigned on Question of the Emancipation of the Catholics—Duke of Portland First Lord of the Treasury—Thought a Proposal will be made to France to treat for Peace—Disagreement among Northern Confederacy—Russia's Intrigues—King to Lord Grenville—Regrets his Resignation, both on public and private Grounds—Had hoped to settle with him the Questions under Discussion between the Governments—Lord Grenville to R. King 374

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Troup to King—Counting presidential Vote—Burr's Election probable—Hamilton profoundly chagrined—Democrats disappointed—King to Secretary of State—New Ministers not yet in Office—Ratification of French Convention will benefit our Commerce—To Ld. Grenville relative to Taxes levied in Scotland against Major Lenox—They should not be levied—Pickering to King—Gives Action of the Senate on the Convention with France—Election of President still in Doubt—Suggests that Adams may be nominated for Governor of Massachusetts with Gerry—Hopes there is enough good Sense to reject both—Lawrance to King—No Election yet—King to Secretary of State—The King's Illness causes Delay in forming new Cabinet—Northern Confederacy still unsettled—England will resist it—Negotiations between Great Britain and United States at a Stand—Vice-Admiralty Courts to be reformed—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Capture and Condemnation of S. Girard's Ship, on Ground he is a French-

PAGE

man—Denial of this—He is an American Citizen—Services in yellow Fever in 1793, in Philadelphia—King to Secretary of State—The King's Sickness continues—No Business—King to Troup—Condition of Affairs in Europe—Lord St. Vincent promises to repress the West India Privateers—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Summary of Matters in Dispute—To T. Erskine—Impressment of Seamen—Suggests that neither Party shall impress on the high Seas—Erskine to King—Says he has sent his Letter to Lord St. Vincent—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Captures of American Vessels bound to an Enemy's Colony not according to the Law of Nations—Cause great Complaints—Demands a precise Instruction to Officers in West India Seas to put an End to this—King to G. Rose—Arbitrary and oppressive Conduct of revenue Officers in the Port of London 390

CHAPTER XXIX.

Cabot to King—Jefferson's Inaugural gives Federalists much Hope—Bad Omen if King leaves his Post—Persuaded England will triumph—King to Southgate—Expects a Successor—Affectionate Expressions—Cabot to King—Jefferson's Speech more liked by Federalists than Democrats—Troup to King—Similar Opinion—Cabinet and other Appointments—Generally believed he was not to be suspended—New York Appointments—Right claimed by Gov. Clinton—Lord St. Vincent to T. Erskine—Expressing high Respect for Mr. King—Hard to draw a Line on Impressments—King to Secretary of State—New Ministry—Sir Hyde Parker gone to Baltic with a Fleet—Debate in Parliament on free Bottoms make free Goods—Neutral Rights—Overtures of Peace—Affairs of United States delayed but pushed—Cession of Louisiana and Floridas to France—Fears injurious Effects upon the Union—Gen. Collot's proposed Voyage to United States—Importance of having an able Minister at Paris—King to Lawrance—Had not the Ministers gone out, believes he would have been able to settle United States Affairs satisfactorily—Cabot to King—England will triumph—King to remain—No war with England—Some Changes of Officers made—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Vices of the Vice-Admiralty Courts in West Indies and Nova Scotia, and Reforms suggested—Asks when the Delays in taking up the Negotiations with the United States will cease—King to Addington—Relative to Commission under 6th Article—Asks for a Decision—To Secretary of State—English Ships excluded from the Continent—France supplied by Neutrals from England—Peace yet uncertain—If Egypt evacuated, Peace more probable . 406

CHAPTER XXX.

King to Secretary of State—Advises Publication of his last Letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the Seizure of Vessels loaded with Spanish

PAGE

Goods, and the Answers from Lord Hawkesbury and Duke of Portland—Sentence of the Vice-Admiralty Courts erroneous—King to Secretary of State—English Fleet at Copenhagen—Death of Emperor Paul—Probable Break of Northern League—Nelson's Victory at Copenhagen—King to Sir W. Scott, asking how long before Appointment of new Judges in Vice-Admiralty Courts—King to Strickland—Estimate of Jefferson—King to Secretary of State—United States Affairs, though delayed, may be settled on reasonable Principles—Lord Hawkesbury promised early Attention—Mr. Addington favors Settlement on the 6th Article on Terms proposed—Obliged to Mr. Sitgreaves for his Help—King to Secretary of State—Action at Copenhagen—Russia to re-establish friendly Relations with England—Prussia has taken Possession of Hanover—Negotiations between Paris and London going on—The King's Relapse—Uncertainty of his Recovery—Jewels etc., sent to Bey of Tunis—Wants Money to pay for them and for various Salaries and Commissions—King to Secretary of State—Interviews with Ministers on several Matters, especially the Debts—Reasons for a more favorable Disposition towards United States—King to Lord Eldon—Asks his Attention to the Matter of English Debts and urging a Settlement—King to Troup—Jefferson's Speech well received—English Affairs—Cabot to King—Ellsworth gives a gloomy Account of Europe—Hopes King will not return Home 426

CHAPTER XXXI.

Vargas to King—Cession of Louisiana to France Result of Volney's Suggestions—Possibly to be used as a Compensation to the United States for Indemnities demanded—Lord Buchan to King—Life of General Washington—A. Stephens to King—Wishes to write a Life—Has Lord Buchan's and Others' Papers—King to Secretary of State—United States Frigates in the Mediterranean may check Insolence of Barbary States—To Lord Eldon—Urges warmly the Resumption and Settlement of American Affairs—To Secretary of State—Admiral Parker ordered Home—Bill for Vice-Admiralty Courts in America—Sir W. Scott to King—Glad he approves the Bill—Troup to King—Democracy triumphs—Gallatin Secretary of Treasury—An Outrage—Sedgwick to King—Presidential Election—Preferred Burr, who could not administer Government without federal Aid, which he could only get by preserving their System—Jefferson's Principles absolutely opposed to them—Hence Burr supported—Jefferson's Speech the Result of his Timidity—His Followers disgusted—His Attachment to his Friends shown by violent Removals from lucrative Offices—Cabot to King—Regrets he is disposed to resign—His Opinions have generally coincided with those of his Friends at Home—Troup to King—Lands look up—New York prospering—Jefferson's Removals from Office—Burr—Marriage of his Daughter—Hamilton's small Charges—Edward Livingston's Appointment 447

CHAPTER XXXII.

PAGE

King to Addington—Complaint of Abuses to American Vessels brought into English Ports—To Lord Hawkesbury—Illegal Proceedings in Vice-Admiralty Court in Gibraltar—King to Secretary of State—Question of Debts in the Cabinet—Addington's liberal Views on this and other pending Matters—Hopes of a speedy Decision on them—King to Troup—Peace the earnest Wish of Ministers—Probable Convention limiting the Right of Search—To Secretary of State—Letter from Lord Hawkesbury relative to Depredations in West Indies—Conference, among other Topics, on Cession of Louisiana to France—His strong Feeling against it—We preferred it in the Hands of Spain or transferred to United States—Report of King's Advocate on Vice-Admiralty Courts—King to Secretary of State—The King attends to Business—Affairs in Egypt—Probable Peace between England and Northern Powers—Threatened French Invasion of England—Harvests good—King to Lord Hawkesbury—By President's Direction he presses the Settlement of the Reform of the Prize Courts in West Indies—H. Lee to King—Expressions of Friendship and Regard—Begins to doubt Jefferson's professed Moderation—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Demands the Discharge of an American Shipmaster because not liable for Charge against him in an English Court—To Lord Eldon—Asking if he has given, as promised, his Opinions on the Debts, etc.—To Lord Hawkesbury about Cunningham the American Shipmaster—Bird, Savage, & Bird to King—General Allen's Affairs—King to Addington—Urging him to bring the Questions pending before the Cabinet—To the Secretary of State—Parliament prorogued—Law regulating Prize Courts passed—French Government may not ratify the Convention with United States 463

CHAPTER XXXIII.

King still at his Post—To Lord Hawkesbury—Desires to bring Discussions to speedy Issues—To Secretary of State—Dale's Squadron in the Mediterranean will have good Influence—Ministry promised Decisions—To Commodore Dale—Hospitable Offer of Supplies from British Ports—Presents to Bey of Tunis—King to Secretary of State—Continental Affairs—Convention between England and Russia—Enemy's Goods on neutral Ships liable to Capture—Right of Search of Vessels under Convoy abandoned—Duroc, French Ambassador, strove to thwart Negotiations—King to Secretary of State—Bill for regulating Vice-Admiralty Courts a Law—Scott to King—Answer to Congratulations on Russian Convention, etc.—King to Gore—Patience with Ministry almost exhausted—King to Troup—Threatened French Invasion—King to Secretary of State—Doubts the

PAGE

proposed French Invasion—Difficulties of French in Egypt increase —Cabot to King—Spirit of the Country more democratic than the Form—King's Tour on the Continent—Hale to King—Wishes King to return Home—Cabot to King—Hopes England will not make Peace, but carry on the War—Jefferson's Answer to New Haven Remonstrants—Troup to King—Jefferson's System—Burr goading him on—Hamilton disgusted—King to remain till End of eight Years—King to Secretary of State—Sends Atlas and Maps—Turnbull to King—Malta a free Port—Recommends Higgins as Consul—King to Secretary of State—Affairs at Tunis—To Eaton—Cloths for Bey of Tunis 482

CHAPTER XXXIV.

King to Lord Hawkesbury—Project of Convention concerning 6th Article agreed to—Hopes other Questions will soon be settled—King to Secretary of State—Conference with Lord Hawkesbury—The Awards in full Satisfaction of all Claims—Lord Hawkesbury saw no material Objection to Settlement of all other Questions, except relative to the Port of New Orleans—Commission under 7th Article to reassemble—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Detention of American Vessels, instead of warning them of Blockade of French Ports, and demands Release of the Vessels—King to S. Hanbury—Maryland Bank Stock—King to Secretary of State—Blockade of Havre—Continental Affairs—To Lord Hawkesbury—Demanding Release of an American Seaman about to be tried for Mutiny—Cabot to King—Often able to supply Facts, etc., through him, but without compromising him—England's Empire of the Sea renders her invincible—Wilberforce to King—Desires a general Abolition of the slave Trade—Hopes for Help from Bonaparte—King to Lords Hawkesbury and Eldon pressing for a Settlement of Claims—Troup to King, about William Coleman—Cabot to King—Always avoided compromising him—Glad he will remain in England—Neutral Rights—Mr. Erving—King to Secretary of State—Continental Affairs—Concordat of France with the Pope important to the Stability of the First Consul—To Lord Eldon—Maryland Bank Stock—Dawson's Notification to King that the President wishes him to remain—Anecdote of Rumford 501

CHAPTER XXXV.

King to Secretary of State—Impatient at Delays in Negotiation—To J. Madison—Delays—Peace with France and Revision of Treaty with England about Seamen and Contraband seem to require a Plan to be adopted—A Conference at Home if Mr. King is to conduct the Negotiation advisable—To Secretary of State—Preliminaries of Peace

PAGE

with France—France may turn Attention to Louisiana—J. Q. Adams to King—Return to America—How much the Country improved—Removals from Office a Subject of Censure—Mr. King not to be removed—Troup to King—Removals from Office in New York—Federal Party dying out—Anecdotes of Jefferson and Chancellor Livingston—King to Secretary of State—Conferences with the Lord Chancellor and Lord Hawkesbury on 6th Article—King to Secretary of State—Further Conferences on same Subject, on the 7th Article, and on the Maryland Bank Stock—King to J. Madison—The Course he will pursue if Objections persisted in 520

APPENDIX I 537

APPENDIX II 540

APPENDIX III 543

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. King expected early in 1797 soon to return Home—In 1797 he made Arrangements for a longer Residence abroad—Sends his Sons to Harrow—Once a great Smoker—Gave up Smoking—Pickering to King—Agreement with General Maitland relative to St. Domingo—Cabot to King—President's Alienation from Hamilton and his Friends—Unsuccessful Endeavor to change this—Gerry a Solitary—Murray's Nomination—The Directory said to intend sending Lafayette as Ambassador to the United States—Cannon for Charleston—King to be sent Ambassador to Russia—Marshall chosen for Congress from Virginia—Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions—Troup to King—Federal Success in New York—Jay's Administration not successful—The President at Braintree—King to Secretary of State—French military Movements—King to Lord Grenville—Detention of Ship *Prosper*, with United States Arms on Board—Pickering relative to Misinterpretation of 18th Article of the Treaty—King to Lord Grenville—No News of Troubles of Commission in Philadelphia—Pickering—Trial of Insurgents in Pennsylvania—King to Hamilton—Continental Affairs.

Mr. King had, at the date of the letters which closed the previous volume, passed more than two years and a half in performing the duties of his mission in England satisfactorily to his government, with advantage to his country, and agreeably to himself in the pleasant relations which he enjoyed socially and with the ministry of the country to which he was accredited. If we look back, however, it will be

found that he had not anticipated remaining so long abroad, for writing from London, March 17, 1797, to his brother-in-law, Dr. Southgate, he said *:

"We are so far apart and both at a period of life at which we are liable to occurrences that may prevent our reunion, that I feel the force of that uncertainty, which darkens the prospect of our meeting. I hope for the pleasure of the event, and flatter myself that it will not be long postponed. Where I am now I am not quite my own master, but it is not my intention to remain long in England; and it will be one of the earliest pleasures of my return home to visit and embrace those branches of my family from which I have been so long separated."

The close of the administration of Washington, with the uncertainties of the changed condition under the administration of Adams, may have been one of the causes of this thought of returning home soon; but it seems to have continued to occupy his mind, for we find in his private correspondence with N. Low, in whose hands his property in the United States was placed, and who was for long years his warm friend, that in the summer of 1798 he was determined to purchase a farm, upon which he would settle himself when he returned. In October 2d of that year, Mr. R. Troup † in a letter on the general affairs of the country says:

"Do you know that Mr. Low has communicated to me your wish to purchase a farm on the North River in Dutchess County; and as I am better acquainted in that quarter than he is, I have undertaken to assist him in procuring information for you."

He then names several properties again on November 16th‡ of the same year, when he says: "Quitting the subject of farms, I proceed to give you a general sketch of our political state." These, as well as other evidences of an expectation of returning home, did not, however, interfere with the

* Vol. ii., p. 160. † Vol. ii., p. 433. ‡ Vol. ii., p. 464.

faithful performance of his duties, which became daily more important under the changing aspects of European politics, and especially of our relations with France. The fact that the conduct of his mission was satisfactory to, and in accordance with the views of, the administration of the new President, and that his old and trusted friend Mr. Pickering was the medium through whom the foreign affairs of the government were shaped and communicated to him, probably soon after led to a change of views on Mr. King's part, which was strengthened by the expressions of satisfaction from his friends at home that he was the Minister in England. Hamilton, among others, wrote * October 2, 1798.

"Why does not Gouverneur Morris come home? His talents are wanted. Men like him do not superabound. Indeed I wish that you were here rather than where you are, though I think your position an important one at the existing juncture. But we want to infuse more abilities into the management of our internal affairs."

He found himself at this time in a position of great and growing influence in behalf of his country, with whose government he was in hearty accord in its policy towards England, and of pleasant relations with the English Ministers, who recognized his intelligence, firmness in maintaining his country's cause, and courteous and dignified demeanor, while at the same time he enjoyed close and confidential intercourse with his colleagues representing other countries, as well as with distinguished men of all countries then in England.

His own home, where everything contributed to his happinesss and where a charming wife presided quietly over a household in which mutual esteem and confidence were the ruling traits, attracted all who came within its hospitable and quiet influence. Though there were not many of his own countrymen at that time abroad who shared his intimacy, there were several who were lifelong friends: Mr.

* Vol. ii., p. 427.

and Mrs. Christopher Gore, Col. John Trumbull, and Mr. Samuel Cabot, with whom his intercourse was of the pleasantest character and with whom he could counsel at times when new questions should arise and demand prompt and decided action.

Thus agreeably situated, there is no more said of returning home, and Mr. King entered upon arrangements which betokened a continued residence abroad. He had, during the summer months, left London for some of the seashore resorts, or inland watering-places, where his family could enjoy the benefits of country air, and he himself relaxation from the confining business of his office, which at that period, as the correspondence shows, made a greater demand upon his time and personal attention than in later years; for the details of duties had not then been portioned off to various officers, and the Minister was called upon to act in cases which were afterwards otherwise provided for.

We shall see that about this time he rented a country place for a term of years, and that he made provision for the education of his three eldest sons, who had been at private schools. They had arrived at an age when they might profit from a more systematic course of studies with the competition which, among intelligent boys, stimulates to greater efforts. He made a careful examination of the different public schools, and finally selected that of Harrow, * then under the charge of Dr. Drury, as offering the most advantages for thorough and careful discipline and excellent scholarship; and after a clear understanding with Dr. Drury to advance them as rapidly in their studies as their abilities would permit, he sent his two eldest sons, being then eleven and ten years old, to him, in full confidence in the system

* *Harrow School and Its Surroundings*, by Percy M. Thornton.

"The sons of Rufus King, a distinguished American Minister, early in the 19th century, were Harrovians sent to the Hill because social distinctions were there unknown."—P. 363.

No authority for this statement is given. Among their fellow-students were Lord Byron, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston.—ED.

of the school and in the head master. His third son was placed in charge of a private tutor for the present. It may be here said, that he never had reason to regret the selection he had made, Dr. Drury entering heartily into the plans agreed upon, the boys helping him in carrying them out, by diligent and intelligent study and by a manly deportment, for which they were constantly commended.

There is an anecdote of Mr. King related by his eldest son, John A. King, which is interesting in many ways. Before he went to England he had been an inveterate smoker; so much so that the room in which he worked was always full of the fumes and smell of tobacco. It may be recalled that in a letter to Dr. Kilham * he had asked about "honest Nat. Carter. Does he think of me as he smokes his pipe? If he does, pray tell him that I am gratified, that my idea associates with agreeable objects; for such alone pass the mind of a hearty smoker." When Mr. King reached England, he found that the gentlemen there did not smoke; so he gave up the habit and never resumed it. The effect of example was shown in the lives of his three eldest sons, who were educated in England and afterwards in France; they never smoked. Under the rules at Harrow smoking was positively forbidden.

The correspondence in this volume opens with a letter from T. Pickering to R. King.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, April 22, 1799."

In this letter Mr. Pickering sends a copy of an agreement made with General Maitland and Mr. Liston, the British Minister, relative to the intercourse of the United States and Great Britain with St. Domingo, and specifies two articles, which at first had met with objections, but were finally adopted,

"Providing that the commercial vessels of both nations should be restrained from entering the port or ports of St. Domingo till

* Vol. ii., p. 604.

a certain day be fixed. Our objections did not proceed from any desire to obtain for our commerce the earliest market, in preference to the British, for we considered that the operations of Great Britain in St. Domingo, had essentially contributed to that state of things which opened to the United States the prospect of a lucrative commerce with the Island ; and that her fleet alone could ensure protection to our commerce, as well as her own ; but Dr. Stevens arriving, as we have reason to believe, at Cape François by the Tenth or Twelfth of April, we expected him to make an arrangement with Toussaint in a few days, which would enable the President to proclaim a renewal of the commerce of the United States, perhaps two or three weeks sooner than if he awaited the result of Genl. Maitland's negotiation ; and knowing that our merchants were on tiptoe to recommence that trade, we wished to avoid giving them or others any pretence to complain of delay, and especially that we were sacrificing their interest to promote that of the British merchants.

"However General Maitland, who is perfectly acquainted with Toussaint and the affairs of St. Domingo, having strongly expressed his apprehension that the just interests of Great Britain, and especially the safety of the West India Colonies, would be hazarded if, by the previous arrangements with Dr. Stevens, Toussaint should consider himself secure of obtaining all necessary supplies from the United States, and also that the existing orders to the British cruizers on that station might occasion vexatious and injurious interruptions to our vessels destined for St. Domingo, which by the proposed delay of a few weeks might be prevented ; and considering finally, how important and essential to our respective interests it was, that a perfect harmony should exist between the two nations, and particularly respecting the object in question, we assented to the fifth and sixth propositions before mentioned."

Mr. Pickering says that Mr. King will see that the instructions given to Dr. Stevens in relation to a renewal of the trade, go as far as any that could be proposed to Toussaint by Great Britain.

"Yet for the reasons assigned we saw no middle course, consistently with the safety of our trade. At the same time we con-

sidered the terms as perfectly compatible with the ultimate dependence of St. Domingo on France. It is not, however, to be denied, nor have we aimed at any concealment, that we have strong expectations that Toussaint will declare the Island independent. Unquestionably he has long contemplated that event. But it is absolutely false, what Hedouville declared in his last Proclamation, that the United States had intrigued with Great Britain to bring him into that measure. We have, in fact, not intermeddled in any manner whatever in the political affairs of St. Domingo. If Toussaint declares its independency, it will not be owing to the intrigues, nor the advice, nor even the suggestion of the United States. It will be his own act. The negroes and people of colour of St. Domingo, formerly slaves, have become incurably jealous (and I believe with reason) that France intended in the end to bring them back again to slavery, or to destroy them and repeople the Island from Africa."

He further states "that the President being absent and the business urgent," General Maitland was informed that the arrangement was "subject to the President's determination," which the officers of the government had no doubt would be obtained, as they, after careful consideration, were satisfied of its wisdom.

This assent was given, as we learn by a letter of Mr. Pickering to Mr. King of the 9th of May in these words:

"I am very glad you did not detain Genl. Maitland till you could hear from me. Upon the whole I think the negociation has been conducted with caution and prudence, and the result has my fullest approbation."

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

April 26, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have frequently revolved in my mind the possible events to be produced by the Revolution of Spain which seems now to be threatened anew, after having been long spared, *as I suppose*, on account of her colonies—these it must have appeared to the

French wou'd be liable to become associated with England & with U. S. unless the Sea cou'd be opened to France—a despair of this now determines the Directory to seize Spain & Portugal whose plunder is at length indispensable ; such are my reflections ; but what profit will the U. S. make of the events ? Our first consideration is & ought to be how we shall most effectually secure ourselves from the Revy. Hurricane that is sweeping the civilized world. I had flattered myself that the tide of affairs wou'd be turned by the English successes, but it appears that Continental Europe is grown worse than ever & that we are relapsing. There was a period when we might have been placed in a state of safety & it is yet possible tho' more difficult ; our Country like Switzerland seems destined to suffer from the Defects of its Rulers as well as the folly of its people. The jealousy which the P. has felt of H. he now indulges toward P. tw'd W. & to'd *very many of their friends* who are suspected of having too much influence in the Community, & of not knowing how to appreciate his merits. The consequence is that his ears are shut to his best real friends & open to Flatterers, to Time servers & even to some Jacobins. These things, not yet extensive nor very much known, give infinite pain to me & to all my Intimates. We have hitherto sought in vain for a remedy & from the nature of the case I think an effectual remedy is not to be found : if we can palliate it we shall be glad. You will naturally suppose that H., disappointed of the high distinction he sought & embarrassed in his money affairs, wou'd be a discontented man & that he wou'd insinuate dangerous doctrines when he cou'd with secrecy.—I lately dined at Quincy in a family way & tho' I was treated with a cordial hospitality & with great confidence in many respects, yet I found it impossible to speak upon the subject which oppressed my heart. I wanted to speak freely of the dangers to which we were exposed from suffering the temper of the Country to cool & its indignation to subside. I wanted to speak freely my opinion of the motives which impelled some men to cultivate the seeds of distrust which nature has sown more or less profusely in every bosom & whose growth wou'd be pernicious in the extreme. I wanted to show that there was no deficiency of attachment or respect among those who assisted in the administration of our national affairs, & in a word I wished to restore or establish a just confidence among men

who must act together if they wish to save their Country or themselves, but I was distanced in every path which led to these topics.

Amid so many discouraging circumstances as attend us within & without, it is some consolation that Federal men are extremely alarmed & are becoming more decided & active, & at this moment some trial of forces is to be had in the election of our State Representatives ; in the votes for Govr. & Senators our opponents have availed themselves of the odium inseparable from *New Taxes* & Great Expenses. They have produced a considerable number of votes but not enough to answer any of their purposes. I am ready to join you as well as Ames in reprobating the publication of Marshall's sentiments on the Sedition & Alien Acts, but I still *adhere* to my first opinion that Marshall ought not to be attacked in the Newspapers, nor too severely condemned anywhere, because Marshall has not yet learned his whole lesson but has a mind & disposition which can hardly fail to make him presently an accomplished (political) Scholar & a very useful man. Some allowance too should be made for the influence of the Atmosphere of Virginia which doubtless makes every one who breathes it visionary &, upon the subject of Free Govt., incredibly credulous ; but it is certain that Marshall at Phila. wou'd become a most powerful auxiliary to the cause of order & good Govt., & *therefore* we ought not to diminish his fame which wou'd ultimately be a loss to ourselves.

Gerry is a Solitary in all respects : he was spared in the News papers because it was apprehended no attack cou'd be made upon him that wou'd not be likely to excite a temper in the P. unpropitious to the public welfare—the event however is thought to have proved the reasoning bad. It is now said if G. had been *treated properly* the P. wou'd have been deterred from all appearances of temporizing. I believe however that the reading Marshall's journal has compelled the P. to be silent & to acquiesce in the unqualified condemnation of Gerry. I have taken some pains to stir up the proper powers to alter the mode of electing the President but without success & I fear some embarrassment will be again felt & possibly a *French* President may be elected. At present I think if this danger shou'd press, it wou'd be prudent to elect W. again, who would doubtless yield to the necessity of such a Conjuncture. Such an idea wou'd now raise a terrible storm, but if the storm comes without it, this wou'd appease it. It has

lately been intimated to me in confidence that our excellent friend wou'd be gratified with an appt as M. P.: this has often occurred to me & to others of his friends, all of whom wou'd be highly pleased to see the object attained, but I fear it will not be in my power to aid it much. I shall write to Mr. Wolcott as well as Pickering upon the subject but it is doubtful whether they will be consulted. If an opportunity presents I will also speak to the P. but no such opportunity may be found if I seek it.

The political disputants have been much occupied in discussing the propriety of the P's nominating Mr. Murray. I think however the subsequent nomination with the extraordinary precautions accompanying it prove the first measure to have been unadvised. The first was a seeming compliance with the views of Talleyrand, but the 2d on the contrary is a measure of some irritation. The whole proceeding shows the P. to have underrated the spirit of the Country & that he was made sensible of it by the strong spontaneous expression of general discontent among the friends of Govt. It is not to be supposed that the P. did feel more complacent toward France than before; on the contrary he has thro' the whole period of the transaction & to the present moment expressed unreservedly his detestation of French & regrets that our Country did not act against them in concert with England. God bless you & yours

G. C.

The following letter from Mr. Liston, the British Ambassador to the United States, to Mr. Pickering, April 10, 1799, refers to an interesting incident in the friendly relations between the two countries:

"When you proposed to me last year that the cannon belonging to the Foudroyant French Man of War, afterwards presented to the Province of So. Carolina by his late Majesty George the Second, and which were then lying at Halifax in Nova Scotia, should be delivered to the United States, with a view to the defence of Charleston, it was not in the power of the Commander in Chief of the King's troops at Halifax, to comply with the request otherwise than upon condition that the guns should be considered as a loan, and should be sent back to any part of his

Majesty's American possession, when re-demanded. But his Majesty has now been pleased, as a testimony of friendship towards the United States, to direct me to return the engagement to that effect entered into by the Secretary of War, in order that the same may be cancelled. I have the honor of inclosing that Paper accordingly, and am happy to be the instrument of thus terminating a transaction, which, while it discovers on the part of my Sovereign a perfect confidence in the sentiment of the American Government, cannot but tend to consolidate the connection so happily subsisting between the two countries."

Mr. Pickering's answer, May 1st, is:

"I transmitted to the President of the United States your note of the 10th of April, and this morning have received his directions to say that he considers the present of cannon, transported last autumn from Halifax to Charleston, 'as a testimony of the friendship of his Britannic Majesty to the United States' and to communicate through you, 'the thanks of the American Government for this mark of his Majesty's confidence in it's sentiments.' All who discern and who wish to promote the true interests and safety of our two nations, will view with satisfaction every act which, manifesting a mutual confidence and good will, shall tend to strengthen the connection so happily subsisting between the two countries."

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 37.

LONDON, May 1, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

Though I have nothing material to communicate, I cannot permit the Packet to sail without writing. The French army that entered Swabia has finally been obliged to relinquish the offensive and to retire behind the Rhine. The Austrians are preparing to enter Switzerland, where the French are sending strong reinforcements. Jourdan has been removed and Massena made Commander-in-chief; it is with him the Arch Duke must contend in his effort to restore the Swiss to their ancient freedom and Independence.

In Italy the Austrian arms have acquired more brilliant and important victories than upon the Rhine; the contest in this quarter has been obstinate, often repeated and fatal to great numbers in each army; the French have been compelled to retreat, and here, as upon the Rhine, the Commander-in-chief has been dismissed. Moreau is now General-in-chief of the French armies in Italy. The Russian reinforcement will join the Austrians in the hour of victory. Other columns of Russia are on their march towards Italy and we hear that the Grand Duke Constantine, the Emperor's second son, is with one of them.

The French Papers mention as an article of intelligence the appointment of another mission from the United States, and I have not heard that they have taken any notice of the Capture of the Insurgent, tho' the news must have reached Paris before that of the new mission.

Your Number 42, of the 5th of February is the last Letter that I have received from you. With perfect Respect & Esteem &c., &c.

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.
(*Private.*)

PHILADELPHIA, May 4, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

Your instructions, after much more delay than I had anticipated, are prepared and will be forwarded as soon as they receive the President's sanction, for negociating a Treaty of Amity and commerce with Russia. The notice which I have before given of your appointment to this charge, I presumed would be sufficient to authorize the Russian Minister at London to send to his Government for his full powers, and your instructions I trust will arrive in time for commencing the negociation. . . .

The events of the war of France with Naples—the easy transition from the latter country to the Turkish Dominions in Europe—the feebleness of the Turkish Government—the torpidness of the European continental Powers, which opposing no effectual barrier for their own territories—will certainly not stop the march of the French to Constantinople and the very possible subversion of the Turkish Empire in Europe. All these considerations have induced us to think it inexpedient to hasten Mr. Smith's

voyage to Constantinople. By the mail of Monday (the sixth instant) I shall submit the question to the President's decision. My Colleagues and I are unanimous in the opinion that the mission should be suspended.

This naturally reminds me of the proposition I made to you last January, respecting my son now with Mr. Smith.* He must either go to London, or return home. He is now two and twenty, and cannot much longer delay resuming his professional studies.

The most agreeable domestic intelligence, and it is the more agreeable and important as it affects our foreign relations, is the federal election in the City of New York for their State Legislature. Their federal Senator had a majority of near seven hundred votes ; and all the gentlemen on the federal list for the House of Representatives are also unquestionably elected. The information is in a letter dated yesterday from Col. J. Morton to his brother in this city ; he pleasantly exclaims "we have beat the French."

The other domestic intelligence, still more important, is, that Genl. Marshall is elected a member of Congress for his district ; that seven or eight other federal members are chosen ; that probably a majority of the Virginia delegation will be decidedly federal, and that even in their State Legislature the democratic predominance will be lost. The mad and rebellious resolves of the Legislatures or House of representatives of Virginia and Kentucky, which were transmitted to all the other Legislatures in the Union have been rejected by all ; by some with pointed disapprobation, and by others with contempt. The real object of the leading Jacobins has been declared. Giles, at the house of Mr. Burwell at Richmond, said expressly that he desired that the Union of the States might be severed. He has attempted a denial, but Mr. Burwell, a man of veracity and fair reputation, positively confirms the charge.

. . . The Circuit Court now sitting is engaged in the trial of the Insurgents in the northern parts of Pennsylvania ; rather in the counties immediately north of Philadelphia. . . . All opposition was subdued without bloodshed.

* That in case Mr. Dandridge, Mr. King's secretary, should return to America (see letter May 6, '99) to accept a position in the new army Mr. King would receive him as his secretary.

R. TROUP TO R. RING.

NEW YORK, 6 May, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . Burr has for two years past been a member of the Assembly, and by his arts and intrigues he has done a gread deal towards revolutionizing the State. It became an object of primary and essential importance to put him and his party to flight. . . . The election was the most animated I have ever experienced. All men of property stood forth and appeared to act as if they were persuaded that everything valuable in society depended on the success of their efforts. The merchants in particular were zealous and active. The consequence is that we have obtained a glorious triumph. . . . We have broken the democratic fetters with which we have lately been bound. . . .

We are looking forward with anxiety to the next election for Governor. . . . The idea is that Mr. Jay will retire from public life. . . . Would you believe, my good friend, that our influence on a general scale has been considerably diminished by Mr. Jay's administration? This, I am persuaded, will to you appear incredible : the fact nevertheless is so. With the best intentions his administration has injured his reputation and lessened our weight. This disappointment has contributed more than any event that has ever occurred to shake my confidence in our present system of government. I have long been anxious to communicate this extraordinary fact to you, but I have been restrained by motives which will readily occur to you. I can conceal it no longer. His last election bore no sort of comparison in point of zeal and exertion with the one preceding it. . . . The causes I will one day or other explain to you. The opinion I give you is not confined to a few of our friends. . . .

The insurrection in Northern Pennsylvania is suppressed. . . . The President suddenly, and without notice, left Philadelphia for Braintree just after this rebellion had broken out, and his departure at that crisis excited much dissatisfaction. His stay from the seat of Government, which is likely to continue till next November or December, is a source of much disgust. It embarrasses the public business and has the air of an abdication. The President appears so whimsical and unsteady that I have no doubt that serious difficulties will be experienced if he be our candidate at the

next election. The faux pas he committed in the late nomination of Minister to France has so shaken the public spirit and the public mind, that he can never regain the ground on which he lately stood. . . . Very truly yours

ROB. TROUP.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GR. CUMBD. PLACE, 10th May, 1799.

Mr. King presents his compliments to Lord Grenville and requests his Ldship's interference that the American ship, Prosper, Daniel Williams master, bound from Hambg. to New York, detained and sent into Yarmouth by his Majesty's ship Latona, may with her cargo be released and suffered to proceed to the port of her Destination. This ship has on board five thousand Muskets, that have been purchased by Mr. King's order by the American Consul at Hamb.g, 3500 of them for the U. S. and the other 1500 for the State of N. York. If the Prosper has been detained on account of these arms, he presumes that she will be immediately released upon this assurance that they belong and have been shipped, as expressed in the Bills of Lading, duplicates of which have been received by Mr. King from Hamburgh and are sent enclosed with a request that they may be returned to him.

Several letters from Mr. Pickering to Mr. King direct his particular attention to the effects of the misinterpretation, by the British prize courts in the West Indies, of the 18th article of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Great Britain. The British cruisers were constantly capturing American vessels on the forced construction of what was contraband of war, and the courts condemned the vessels, interfering very materially with the American commerce and causing great losses to the owners of the vessels. The correspondence points out clearly and forcibly what was deemed to be not only a misinterpretation of the character of the articles objected to, but of the apparent wilfulness of the proceedings. In a letter of the 11th of May, 1799, he says:

"To the perverse transactions (as I think myself warranted in calling them) of the 18th article of the British Treaty respecting Contraband, noted in my letter of the 8th inst., I have now to add, that Linseed Oil and Painters Colours have been pronounced contraband by some of the British Vice-admiralty Courts; for a vessel when built and equipped may have some of her upper works *painted.* This, tho' of less moment in itself than some others, is as sheer an abuse as can well be imagined. The truth of the matter is that when the naval officers who in this sort of business are too eager, either for their own honor, or our tranquillity, have once seized upon their prey and carried it into port, there seems to be a wonderful sagacity in discovering something to be contraband, whereby the Captors are screened from paying damages and our fellow citizens condemned in heavy costs. The citizen of the United States dwelling in the Mississippi Territory, as well as the inhabitants of Louisiana receive their clothing and necessary supplies in American Vessels by the way of New Orleans. But the British cruizers say they shall not have 'unwrought Iron' to be wrought into Husbandry utensils, nor nails to build houses, nor paints to shield these from the weather and the burning sun of that climate and for internal decorations, nor coarse linens for their negroes and servants and to make bags for their cotton. It was not easy to have foreseen such abusive construction of the general words 'whatever may serve directly to the equipment of vessels,' but they may have their use in our negociating future Treaties by preventing the admission of any article to be contraband *unless expressly mentioned.* . . .

"I have lately received a Proclamation, apparently an original of Rear Admiral Pringle, commanding at the Cape of Good Hope, forbidding all vessels, the British only excepted, killing whales or seals on the Coast of that Colony within 5 leagues from the land; threatening in case of disobedience to his order, to seize and send them to the Cape, to be proceeded against according to law. . . . This unlawful order was doubtless levelled against American vessels alone, for I believe they are the only vessels, besides British, accustomed to take whales on that Coast. This, I also believe, was a region where our vessels had usually taken whales long before the British got possession of the Cape; and where we had no reason to expect interruption. . . . With these Docu-

ments (inclosed) you can state the case to Lord Grenville and I trust have removed all obstructions to our Fisheries on the African Coast. At any rate it will be best to come to some decisive understanding on this subject.

"According to the Proclamation one would suppose the British Admiral considered the vast territory from Cape Negro on the west to the Bay Delagoa on the southeast coast, as pertaining to the quondam Dutch Colony of the Cape of Good Hope."

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

MARLBOROUGH, May 17, 1799.

MY LORD:

I had this morning the honor of receiving your Lordship's letter of the 15th, and at the same time a letter from Col. Pickering of the 2d ulto; but neither in this Letter nor in those recd. by the mail that arrived on Tuesday, does he take any notice of the Business of the Commissioners. It is true that a Letter of the last of February or of the beginning of March is wanting to complete his series: this will probably come to hand by the Chesterfield Packet, due before the Lady Harriet that brought the last mail. Possibly his Letter may, tho' I hope it will not, respect the disagreement that seems to have existed between the Comms.

Tho' I am equally with your Lordship without information upon this subject, I shd. not have hesitated to have immediately waited upon you at Dropmore, had I not been anxious first to see my family conveniently placed at Bath. We shall be there this even'g and I propose being in London early on Wednesday next, When I will have the honor of attending your Lordship in Cleveland Row. With great Respect &c

RUFUS KING.

P. S. Col. Pickering's Letter of the 2d. April mentions the arrival of Genl. Maitland.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, May 22, 1799.

. . . The Jury who tried Fries, the leader of the Insurgents in this State of Pennsylvania, agreed on their verdict *Guilty* without debate or hesitation; but some testimony being adduced be-

fore sentence was pronounced that one of the jurors had declared his opinion before the Trial, and subsequent to his being summoned as a juror, that Fries ought to be hanged, a new Trial was granted. Yet that juror only thought and spoke, as any other person did who was equally informed of the facts, without any symptom of malice. The mode in which the Jury made their determination was remarkable. Without the least discussion, after the cause had been committed to them, they agreed that each should write on a ticket his opinion ; they did so, and on examining the tickets each was inscribed *guilty*. The new trial will be in October. Some of the principal Insurgents (near twenty) remain imprisoned for trial at the same time. Four or five were tried for misdemeanours, convicted and fined and imprisoned.

KING TO HAMILTON. *

LONDON, May 22d, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

War is again declared by France against the temporizing Cabinet of Vienna, and this has been the signal for Prussia to resume her former system of insecure neutrality.

We may every hour expect the result of a battle between Jourdan and the Archduke, who, according to our last accounts, were respectively advancing upon each other. The first blow has been unfortunate for the allies ; the whole of the Austrian Corps, 5000, at Coire, in the country of the Grisons having fallen into the hands of the French, commanded by Massena. I wish that I felt more confident that this first success would not be followed by more important victories. The 25,000 Russians, who were some time in the neighborhood of Vienna, are on their march for Italy, where Suwarrow, an old Russian officer, is to command the combined armies.

If Prussia, with the North of Germany, which together have an army of more than 300,000 men, had joined heartily and honestly in the league against France, the Directory might have been shaken ; but my hopes are weaker than my fears with regard to the partial and ill-joined Confederacy with which it is at present engaged.

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 407.

The publication of the treaty of Campo Formio, so disgraceful to the court of Vienna, will prove hurtful to the Directory, by confirming the jealousy of Prussia, and exciting distrust of the Emperor throughout Germany, the interest and safety of which was sacrificed by that treaty.

CHAPTER II.

King to Lord Grenville—Blockade of the United Provinces—Request for Release of American Vessels—To Count de Woronzow—Russian Treaty—To Secretary of State—Interruption of Commission under sixth Article—Blockade of the United Provinces—To Lord Loughborough—Maryland Bank—To Troup—Cannot understand Affairs at Home—Pickering to King—Captain Loring's Insult to American Flag—Mission to Constantinople—King to Lord Grenville—Complains of the Vice-Admiralty Courts—To Secretary of State—Mission to Constantinople and to Russia—Cabot to King—Dissatisfaction with President—Lawrance to King, relative to the 8 per cent. Loan—Great Demand for Credits in Bank—Pickering to King—St. Domingo—Toussaint promises Safety to Commerce—King to Pickering—Disapproves of the Nomination to France—Recommends Prudence in Dealing with her—English Opinion on French Affairs—Trade with Russia—Troup to King—Latter's Remarks about English Courts—St. Domingo—East India Trade—Confidence in Adams's Discretion impaired—King to Lord Grenville on Provisions of the eighteenth Article of the Treaty.

R. King to Lord Grenville.

Gr. Cumberld. Place, 23d May, 1799.

My Lord:

I take the liberty to ask your Lordship's interference in order to procure the discharge of the American ships, Mahala Windsor, Loring Master, Ocean, Parker Master, Polly, Channock Master, America, Burger Master, and Genet, Barrett Master, with their respective cargoes. The two former of these vessels were bound from Rotterdam to America, and the three latter from the Texel. They have all been detained and sent into Yarmouth by the English Fleet in the North Seas. These vessels, as I am informed, arrived in the Dutch Seas before the late order of the Blockade of all the Ports of the United Provinces. The passage to Rotterdam was quite free &, notwithstanding the order

of June for the Blockade of the Texel, the blockading fleet during a part of the winter returned into the English Ports, and no force was present at the Entrance of the Texel, when these ships & other American vessels, now at Amsterdam, entered the Port.

It seems scarcely necessary to observe that the presence of a competent force is essential to constitute a Blockade ; that altho' it is usual for the Belligerent to give notice to neutral nations when he institutes a Blockade, it is not custom to give any notice of its discontinuance, and that consequently the presence of the blockading force is the natural criterion by which the neutral is enabled to ascertain the existence of the Blockade ; the like manner as the actual investment of a besieged Place, is the only evidence by which we decide whether the siege is continued or raised. A siege may be commenced, raised, recommenced and raised again ; but its existence at any precise time must depend upon the Fact of the presence of an investing army. This interpretation of the Law of Blockade is of peculiar importance to nations situated at a great distance from each other, and between whom a considerable length of time is necessary to send & receive information.

Besides the ships which are the immediate object of this Letter, I am informed by the American Consul General in Holland, that a number of other American vessels which arrived in the Ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam during the winter and before the late order for the Blockade of all the Dutch Ports, are now detained there with their Cargoes from an apprehension of being interrupted in their return to America. The same observations are applicable to these vessels as to those detained and sent into Yarmouth, and I must request your Lordship to enable me to give to the Am. Cons. Gen. in Holland for the information of the Masters of these ships an assurance on the part of your Government that they may proceed on their voyages without danger of interruption from your Cruisers.

Our Expectations on this occasion appear to me to be founded in reason & Justice, & I persuade myself that they will not appear otherwise to yr. Lordship.

With the mo. pert. Respect, &c., &c.,

Rufus King.

R. KING TO COMTE DE WORONZOW.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, May 24, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I am going again to Bath to join my family which I left there a few days ago; possibly it may not be in my power to return to town before you leave it. I need not express to you my unfeigned regrets upon this occasion, nor my sincere hope that your absence from England may be of short duration.

Suffer me to recall to your recollection a subject* of which we have more than once conversed and at the same time to commend it to your good offices and friendly protection. I shall feel myself particularly obliged for any information that you may be enabled to give me respecting the sentiments of your Court upon this important Topic. My late accounts from America are satisfactory; you know my sentiments upon those subjects, which mankind have so great concern in seeing well and soon settled; these sentiments are I am convinced those of the American Government; and it will afford me the greatest satisfaction to see the cause of Order and of Religion in America supported and strengthened as it would be by a public intercourse and connexion between the Governments of our two Countries.

With sincere attachment & Respect, &c., &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 39.

LONDON, May 25, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

With the exception of your No. 43, I have received your Letters to No. 47 inclusive. Altho' you are silent upon the subject, I am sorry to learn that Embarrassments of so serious a character have occurred in the Commission under the 6th Article of the English Treaty. Lord Grenville sent me a few days since a printed copy of the Proceedings in the case of Bishop Inglis, which he received from Mr. Liston by the last Packet, and at the same time enquired from me whether I could give him any further information upon the subject. In a conference that we

* Probably the making of a commercial treaty between Russia and the United States.—ED.

have since had, his Lordship intimated to me that they should find it difficult to allow their Commissioners under the 7th Article, to assist in any further awards, so long as the business of the American Commission remained suspended. We went a little way into the Proceedings in Bishop Inglis' case, and I endeavored to show his Lordship, which indeed is satisfactorily done by Messrs. Fitzsimons & Sitgreaves, that the grounds taken by their Commissioners could not be defended. As Mr. Liston's Dispatch, which was intended to have been sent with the printed Proceedings, was not sent, and as I had received no information from you upon the subject, it was thought best to postpone a further Discussion of the Business, with an understanding that the Commission here, which happens to be adjourned for a few weeks, should continue adjourned until we receive more precise information from Philadelphia. But whether we are right or otherwise, it appears to me extremely probable that the Commission here will be suspended until that at Philadelphia is again put in motion. Lord Grenville observed and I think with justice, that we have found by the discussions relative to the powers of the Commissn. under the 7th article, that constructions in either extreme must be given up ; and I think he felt the full effect of my observation, that whatever may be the importance of the Claims before the Comrs. at Philadelphia, it was very subordinate to the Harmony and good understanding that happily subsist between the two Countries. It is much to be regretted that no awards have been made by the American Commission : even a single one would have prevented the misrepresentations that ill disposed persons feel themselves at liberty to make.

The Chesterfield Packet has been taken in her passage home ; and the affair that occurred at New York is not thought of any consequence. Mr. Liston has stated the Privileges of their Packets and of their officers to be greater, as I have reason to believe, than this Government would concede to those of any other nation, or than they are desirous to obtain for themselves. Indeed Lord Grenville, who considered the late transaction as of no significance, told me that what had happened, showed that it wd. be convenient that some conventional rule should be established relative to the reception and treatment of Packets, and that we

might chuse such rule as we liked. There is no settled practice in Europe upon this subject,—the safety of the Revenue and the just distinction due to the navy, seem to forbid that Packets should be put on the same footing as men of war.

A number of our Vessels with valuable cargoes bound home from Amsterdam & Rotterdam have been captured and sent into the British Ports for breach of the Blockade, that has been instituted at the Entrance of the Ports of the United Provinces. I shall render them all the aid in my power; but if the law of nations upon this subject, as it is here interpreted, is enforced against neutrals, we must use greater precautions in clearing and ordering our ships to Places that we have been notify'd are in a state of Blockade. Instead of clearing our vessels for such blockaded place, upon the presumption that the Blockade is raised, it wd. be just as well, and entirely safe, to clear them for a neighbouring Port not in a state of Blockade, and to give the Masters Instructions to proceed to the Port for which they are cleared, or to the Port, the Blockade whereof is believed to be raised, in case they shall receive satisfactory information that such Blockade is discontinued.

We have no certain intelligence yet of the Destination of the Brest fleet; it was seen on the 1st instant off Lisbon, and the present opinion seems to be that it is bound into the Mediterranean after having formed a junction with the Spanish fleet at Cadiz. Nothing has lately occurred between the Austrians and French upon the Rhine. The Victory of Suwarrow upon the Adda, which has been followed by the Conquest of the Cisalpine Republic, has rendered the situation of the French in the Neapolitan and Roman territories more critical, and seems to threaten their total expulsion from Italy.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO RT. HON. LORD LOUGHBOROUGH.

(*Private.*)

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, May 25, 1799.

MY LORD:

As I am on the point of returning to Bath where I left my family a few days ago, I cannot have the honor of waiting upon your Lordship at Hampstead agreeably to your obliging permis-

sion. My sole object beyond the opportunity of paying my respects to your Lordship, was to recall to your recollection the Maryland Bank Stock claim, and to express to your Lordship how anxious I am, and much I shall feel obliged by your Lordship's assistance, to bring that long depending suit to a conclusion. Really, my Lord, on my part nothing has been omitted that I have conceived to be likely to remove the obstacles that have stood in our way. I cannot express, nor is it at all necessary that I should, the trouble that I have had in the course of this Business. I mention it only as some apology for this note, as well as for the liberty I have before taken upon the same subject. If your Lordship's health, and the business of the Court will allow it, I permit myself to hope that the affair will be settled before the next vacation.

With the most perfect Respect &c. &c.,

RUFUS KING.

P.S. Assurances have been given to Woodcock & Cotes that they shall receive their costs the moment the stock is transferred.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

May 29, 1799.

. . . I am unable to account for some late Proceedings, which are alike unexpected and difficult to comprehend. I am afraid of those measures that *certain men* applaud and concerning which others preserve a prudent silence. It will be worse than mortification, if after all that has passed before our eyes, we suffer ourselves to be the Dupes of our adversaries. Steuben used to say, since the Jews were cast off, the Americans had become the chosen People; it may be, and that in this way we are to be saved in spite of ourselves. A Min. to the Porte, another to Russia, a Consul General to Toussaint and a new set of Envoys to the Great Nation!!! R. K.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, May 29, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

In your letter, received last week, stating your conversation with Lord Grenville on the insult offered by Capt. Loring of his Britannic Majesty's ship Carnatic to the Flag of the United

States, in impressing seamen from their ship of war, the Baltimore, you suggest the propriety of your being furnished with a statement of facts by Capt. Phillips, her commander. I now inclose it, with reluctance, I confess; for altho' it establishes the reality of the insult, it fixes the disgrace on Capt. Phillips. The dishonor, which his conduct brought on our infant navy, I hope has been wiped off by his instantaneous dismission. It was unfortunate that he quitted the merchant service, where his good behaviour had procured him a fair reputation. With the best intention to serve his country, he has subjected himself to reproach. He has not mended the matter by his attempt at a vindication, in his letter to the Secretary of the Navy. . . . I hope your apprehensions in respect to the negociating a Treaty with Russia will be removed before this gets to hand, by the appointment of the Minister of that court at London to treat with you there. It would not be desirable to us to send a Minister to Petersburg for that object; nor would the American Government, I imagine, have determined on the negociation, if the necessary consequence was to be placing a Resident Minister in Russia. I am inclined to think the number of our foreign ministers will rather be diminished than increased.

In a former letter I have mentioned the suspension of Mr. Smith's Mission to Constantinople, and the probability, that it will be further suspended on account of the state of things in that quarter of the world. You suggest that it would be favorably received by the Porte, and I believe your idea to be just. But how shall we ascertain this point? Can you do it thro' the Turkish Minister at London? or in any other way? I persuade myself that the President will be much gratified by your taking immediate steps for this purpose. . . .

R. King to Lord Grenville.

Great Cumberland Place, June 1, 1799.

Mr. King presents his compliments to Ld. Grenville, and takes the liberty to state for his Ldp's information that he has reason to be satisfied that a practice continues to prevail in certain of the English Vice-admiralty or Prize Courts, and especially in the West

Indies, according to which the citizens of the U. States, whose property has been adjudicated in those Courts, and who are desirous to appeal to the Court of Appeals in Prize Cases, are required to find sureties upon the spot in certain penal sums for the prosecution of such appeals; a requisition difficult from the want of correspondents to be complied with, and always attended with inconvenience & expense, as counter-security is required by the sureties & commissions charged to and paid by the claimants.

Mr. King is informed that this proceeding is irregular & entirely unnecessary and by no means authorized by those Laws which should regulate the same: he therefore requests Ld. Grenville's interference to the end that instructions be given to the several Vice-admiralty or Prize Courts in the British Colonies to abstain from, & discontinue a practice useless to the Captors and burthensome to the American Claimants.

G. Cabot to R. King.

June 2, 1799.

Dear Sir:

. . . The unpardonable exposure of our Country to intrigues from which 5 years incessant efforts had just recovered it, will justify all Europe in taking back the praise they had prematurely given us. I wish a little disgrace was the only penalty of our folly, but we must suffer much & suffer long. The influence of the measure upon the spirit of the country has indeed been *much less* pernicious than was feared, there having been great exertions everywhere to counteract it & the strange inconsistency of the P. himself cooperated strongly to the same purpose. But there is one mischief produced which I think a very great one & without present remedy. A man having done so weak a thing & in so unwarantable manner will never forgive those whose opinions he greatly respects & which condemn him altogether; his vanity wou'd not allow him to consult those whose advice wou'd have saved him from error; nay he avoided them because he knew they wou'd dissuade him, & he now is cold to them & *to their friends* because in every countenance he reads reproof. There is however a perfect disposition to treat him with all possible delicacy & respect, but you know his weaknesses as well as

his virtues & you must know that he wou'd naturally under the circumstances incline to hear those who flatter him rather than those who presume to question his infallibility. We all think well of his heart & of consequence feel none of those resentments which wou'd be just if we thought otherwise.

Amid all these discouragements you will see with pleasure that the federal elections have terminated well, compared with what was apprehended. I believe too in the States, notwithstanding the odium of new Taxes ; the people are steady & have become confirmed in the belief of great danger from France. From the information contained in my *2 letters from London* I thought myself authorized to guard the public against the trick which might be played with Fayette,* & I have no doubt if he shou'd come here he will meet with all the *dis*trust which the villainous disposition of his new masters ought to inspire ; I have made it a practice to use every hint you have given me in this way without disclosing the source of my intelligence, *except in cases or to persons* with whom it wou'd be your own desire to communicate unreservedly.

J. LAWRANCE TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, June 4, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . There never was a time, my good friend, that money was in greater demand, and prices so low, except some articles of produce, as within some time past. Bills on London at New York 10 per cent under par—here 12½, the New Loan on the payments made 8 per cent under par. Since I have been a Director in the Bank, the demand for credit has not been greater. Very liberal aid has been afforded, &, I believe, in a short time, the press will considerably lessen. Our Commerce at present absorbs an immense capital. The trade round the Cape of Good Hope has increased, beyond what could have been contemplated. Indeed nearly all our Capital, as well actual as nominal, is engaged in Commerce. Scarcely any is left for any other object. The Eight per cent Loan was an object, with many, of Speculation, but it has not answered. The payment not having been made

* See note Letter of June 8th.

stock, but resting in the shape of script, has been prejudicial, as it prevented its negociability, where money was to have been had for it, and the Capital of our Country, would not admit of so much being taken from it, to remain inactive—but one half the payments will be consolidated into stock the next month, and I suppose it will aid it something. This Loan started with great advantages, but in its course it has lost them, and it is probable when we borrow again, and borrow we must, the lenders may not be so numerous as they were at 8 per cent. I have had nothing to do with it. My capital, you know, is gone into Land, and as far as I get cash I apply it to lessen my Debts. No Script or Stock, shall tempt me to risk a dollar until I have cleared my concerns.

The Insurrection in this State, which was truly contemptible, is done with—the principal has been convicted of Treason; but a New Trial granted—Some of the subordinate culprits fined and Imprisoned. Our Country is increasing in strength and resources and we shall be able to maintain, I believe, the rights we assert. . . . Yours with the utmost sincerity,

JOHN LAWRANCE.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.—No. 40.

LONDON, June 5, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

The English Ambassador, *Lord Elgin*,* is not yet gone upon his mission *to the Porte*. Altho' *you have given me* no instructions to do it, *I have* thought it advisable *as of myself to* speak again *to Ld. Grenville* respecting *the negotiation* we are about to commence *in that quarter*. From the peculiar character *of that Govt.*, and especially at this moment, *Mr. Smith will want* the assistance of, and, as I am informed is the custom in regard to Nations *with whom the Porte has never treated*, must be made *known at Constantinople by the minister of some nation with which the Porte is in* friendship. *Ld. Grenville* renewed the assurances which he had formerly given to me and added that *before Lord Elgin's Departure*, he wd. take an opportunity *of conversing with him more particularly upon this subject. Ld. Grenville* at the same time added *that Sir Charles*

* Words in italics in cipher.

Whitworth, their Minister at Petersburgh had lately informed him that *we should find no difficulty in concluding a commercial Treaty with Russia &* that a Dispatch had been sent *to Count Woronzow, the Russian Envoy here*, to signify *to me the Disposition of his Court upon this Subject.* Accordingly *Count Woronzow yesterday told me* that he had received *a Dispatch from his Court* informing him, that in consequence of his information that *the American Govt.* protected *the cause of order and Religion, was* in friendship *with England & the allies of Russia*, and held *in abhorrence the conduct of the French, that Russia was ready* to concur in a more direct *intercourse with the U. S. and to conclude a commercial Treaty between the two Countries. The Count* added that the communication of this information was referred *to his discretion* and to be governed by circumstances ; *that he had* no reserve in remarking *to me*, that the success *of the negotiation must in his opinion* at least for the present depend *upon our situation with France.* If *we were* about *a negotiation with France*, it would, *in his opinion* be advisable *for us* to suspend further proceedings *with Russia :* that for the want of information on this point, *he did not officially* make the communication *to me that he was* authorized to do, *tho' he had* thought it proper to say thus much personally *and confidentially* with the view *that I might if I* chose communicate what *he had so said to my Govt.* On this occasion, as formerly, *he told me that the negotiation whenever it* took place according to the unvaried *usage of their Court* must be conducted *either at Petersburgh or Philadelphia.*

With perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, June 5, 1799.

. . . We have advices from Dr. Stevens at St. Domingo. He was received by General Toussaint with all possible attention and with joy by the Inhabitants ; but the act of Roume, the Directorial Agent, is very far short of the regulations contemplated as necessary to warrant a renewal of our commercial intercourse. Dr. Stevens and Toussaint were sensible of this and therefore the letter gave private and verbal assurances, that all we desire for the safety of our commerce, should in reality be

granted, and that altho' the *public* Act of Roume proposed to regulate privateering, there should in fact be nothing to regulate, privateering should be abolished. . . .

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.
(*Private.*)

LONDON, June 5, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

. . . As you cannot have misconceived my sentiments and opinions concerning the late nomination to France, I will not give you the trouble to read, nor myself the pain of saying a word respecting it. Here I have observed a line of conduct that on mature consideration appeared to be prudent, both as regards the respect & duty I owe to the President, and which it would be an indecency to violate, and likewise the importance of maintaining, as far as possible, the high and advantageous ground that in the opinion of this and of the other countries, we had attained. I flatter myself that my explanations have not been without their utility, as I also do that what was subsequently done with you, assisted by what has lately passed, and is passing in Europe, and which may possibly be followed by events of great magnitude as well as of the highest interest to mankind, will operate to correct or retrieve any mistakes that we may have made in our negotiations with France.

The President may be informed by those whose advice, as I conjecture, has had its influence in producing the late appointment and whose infallibility urges them to support their first opinion, that the Reverses and present embarrassments of France present an occasion favorable to the adjustment of our disagreements. We may be deceived again as we have been before concerning the state of France, as well as with regard to the power of the Allies ; but little prone as I am to confide in the consistency of confederacies, or the constancy of victory, I am persuaded that at no period of the war, not even in 1793, did the affairs of France appear in so difficult a situation as they do at present : and for that reason Prudence seems to require that we should not be in haste.

Siéyes' acceptance of a seat in the Directory has given birth

pretty generally to an opinion, that a Proposition will soon be made by France, and some say it will come thro' the King of Prussia, for a general Peace upon the Basis of the ancient Limits. England expects it and has, if I mistake not, beforehand decided against it. The late speeches in Parliament of the Ministers Pitt & Windham throw some light upon the opinions of the Cabinet. The re-establishment of Monarchy in France seems to be represented as the only event that can give a secure peace to Europe—Perhaps the Policy of these Declarations and opinions may be questioned, admitting even that no Peace can be durable and no country safe or independent, so long as the immoral and restless Principles that for some years have influenced France, continue to exist and to govern it.

You are doubtless sufficiently acquainted with the character of the Russian Government and of its chief, to account for the communication contained in my public letter of this Date. The Emperor is more heartily and zealously engaged against France than any of the Allies, and is not likely to make nice discriminations upon the Rights of Nations, the whole of whom, in his eyes, are required to enter the list on the side of the Allies, instead of pursuing measures calculated to reconcile themselves or their affairs with the French. I am endeavouring to collect and methodize information concerning the footing of different nations in their trade with Russia. If I am not mistaken, the Result will show the considerable disadvantages under which our trade is carried on, when compared with that of others with whom Russia has concluded commercial treaties ; as yet I cannot speak with confidence on this subject—you see that the negotiation cannot be carried on or considered at a third place.

I must do as well as I can, but I very much regret that I am wholly without any information from you respecting the interruption of the Comn. under the 6th Article of the Eng. Treaty—Lord Grenville has received such accounts as may lead to some measures that we should wish to avoid concerning the Commission here. We are to confer upon this subject, as also upon the business that carried Genl. Maitland to Philadelphia in a day or two. I have reason to apprehend that what has been done at Philadelphia & which I only know from Lord Grenville, does not meet his Lordship's approbation : tho' you must not infer that there will

exist any serious opposition—Indeed I cannot form any satisfactory opinion on this subject, as I am not acquainted with what has been done, nor shall I be until I see the agreements. . . .

I have once mentioned to you the very small salary of Maj. Lenox ; his services here are necessary and he certainly ought to be better paid. His economy in the expenditure of the public money, as you will perceive by his accounts, is very great, and the expenses are consequently much less than they wd. be in many other Hands ; this is an additional motive to his being allowed a more adequate compensation. Not knowing when Mr. Smith wd. leave Lisbon, nor how his Mission to Constantinople wd. affect the situation of your Son, I sent a few mails since to Mr. Smith your letters to him & to your son, and copies of your letter to me and of my answer, stating to Mr. Smith my motives for doing so, and the satisfaction I shd. have in receiving your son, should he conclude to leave Lisbon before he heard further from you.

With sincere attachment I am,

K.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 5 June, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . I have nothing new that is worth communicating. Our little navy is increasing. In a day or two we shall have a ship launched that is building for Valentine Morris, one of the sons of the late General Morris. In the Fall, the forty four gun ship now building at Corlear's Hook will be ready for sea. Our seventy fours also are getting on the stocks, and we shall in the course of the next year be in possession of a respectable naval force. Our trade is very active and extensive and is supposed to be lucrative. The advantages we have derived from our naval exertions are incalculable. Our ships of war have been treated with great attention and respect in the West Indies. Truxton has lately returned to the United States. . . . He is everywhere received with addresses and public entertainments. . . . The French privateers have lately abandoned our coasts ; we are now obliged to hunt them up in the West India seas. Truxton's vic-

tory has had a happy tendency to increase the ardor of our naval spirits. . . . Our army is also beginning to display itself. . . . Genl. Hamilton appears to be much occupied with his military correspondence and arrangements. The law has nearly abandoned him, or rather he has forsaken it. The loss he sustains is immense! . . . I am really surprised at the remarks which you make about the English courts and lawyers in your letter of the 16th March last. As the profession is divided in that country, I have always conceived there was more learning and ability to be found both on the bench and at the bar than could be met with here. At present, our bar is very able, and our bench is improved, and bids fair to be eminent. Kent and Radcliff our two young judges are emulous and studious. Dallas has lately published a second volume of reports, and part of it comprehends adjudications of the Supreme Court of the United States. I think they would be read in England with avidity by the lovers of legal disquisitions. . . .

The next Congress will of course be perfectly safe, and I trust all will go right. A war with France would not shock the feelings of the nation; on the contrary they would be gratified with the measure. . . . The situation of St. Domingo is to me incomprehensible. Roume and Toussaint say they are well attached to the French Republic—and Roume calls himself a special agent of the Directory lately arrived from France at St. Domingo. Desfourneau at Guadaloupe was so much enraged with Truxton's victory that he has in form declared war against us. Dr. Stevens, Hamilton's friend, has been formally received by Roume and Toussaint as Consul General from the United States. . . . The situation of Genl. Maitland's Treaty with Toussaint, we cannot learn. All is thus far enveloped with obscurity. It is certain that commercial speculations are now maturing for the St. Domingo market.

Our trade to the Indies and China is immense; and the late voyages are said to have been very profitable. Take the whole of our Commerce into view, and it is certainly in a very flourishing state. The late shipments of specie to India and China have so drained the vaults of our banks, that at present we have a heavy pressure for money. This pressure is increased by a resolution of the Manhattan Company lately announced to set up a

new bank. . . . I cannot avoid dwelling upon our glorious triumph [the result of the election in New York City.—Ed.]. . . . It is considered as forming a new era in the annals of federal politics. If Burr had continued two or three sessions more in our Legislature, it is a pretty prevalent opinion that he would have disorganized the whole state. The democratical system, for some time past, has been to establish a preponderating influence in the state Legislatures under a despair of being able to control, for the present, the measures of Congress. With this view, Mr. Madison has lately gone into the Virginia Legislature. We are told, however, that Mr. Patrick Henry has followed into the same branch of the Legislature to oppose him. . . .

No opinion is yet formed in relation to our next election of President and Vice President. Mr. Adams has been so desultory n his administration, that the public confidence in his discretion is greatly impaired. To govern by fits and starts—without the advice of his friends around him—nay without even consulting them—in order to be characterised as an independent man—free from influence—is not a system calculated for solid and durable fame. He still continues at Braintree, and the government, like Pope's wounded snake, drags its slow length along. He will never recover from the wound he gave himself in making the advances he has made, since Gerry's return, towards the Directory. . . .

God bless you,

R. T.

R. King to Lord Grenville.

Gt. Cumberland Place, June 5, 1799.

My Lord :

I have had the honor to receive yr. Ld. p's Note of the 27. ulto., inclosing a Copy of Mr. Nepean's letter to Mr. Hammond respecting the description of Nails not included in the provisions of the 18th article of our Treaty of Amity, Commerce & Navign. This description appears to me to be satisfactory, and nothing now remains to attain the object of my Note of the 25. March, but to agree in a like satisfactory description of such Cloth, as upon the allegation of its being Sail-Cloth, is erroneously supposed to be

contraband of war, and so included within the Provisions of the above mentioned Article.

On this head I take the liberty to propose to yr. Ld.p. that it shall be agreed "that Oznaburghs, Ficklenburghs, Russia Sheeting and all other cloths made of Hemp or Flax, and not generally and chiefly made use of for the sails of ships," shall be excepted from the Provisions of the aforesaid Article of our Treaty.

It seems hardly necessary to remark that the comprehensive Provision of the Treaty in question in respect to articles deemed contraband of war, secures all the material or important Rights & Interests of the Belligerent, & that it cannot be desireable to enlarge the construction of these Provisions, so as to embarrass the Neutral in a Trade little or not at all capable of being any way prejudicial to the Belligerent. With the most perfect Reliance on yr. Ld.p's liberality & moderation on this, as on other & more important occasions,

I have the honor to be &c. &c

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER III.

Cabot to King—Doubts Toussaint's Plans, and Wisdom of Interference with Colonies of European Neighbors—La Fayette's Mission to the United States—King to Hamilton—Continental Affairs—To Secretary of State—Condition of War in Europe—Ames to King—France must be fought with till fought down—Review of Affairs at Home—Prospect more favorable—Trade flourishes—King to Secretary of State—Conference with Lord Grenville relative to Proceedings of Commissioners under the 6th Article—Their Secession would cause those under the 7th to be stopped, notwithstanding King's Remonstrances—St. Domingo—Pickering to King—Directs him to persevere in denying the Right of British Men-of-War to take any Man whatever from our Ships of War.

G. Cabot to R. King.

June 8, 1799.

Dear Sir :

If we may judge from the Documents published by Citizen Roume the affairs of Hispaniola are proceeding in a train somewhat different from what Gen'l Maitland intended & in this case I shou'd hope the U. S. & G. B. wou'd be equally determined to discountenance them.—it *may be* a finesse to answer some party or personal purposes that they assume the present shape or it may be intended to amuse the Directory & therefore allowed, but I confess my own apprehensions are that Toussaint with his advisers is practising with his Enemies upon the expectation of giving the Colony to France. I know nothing but from the Newspapers. It has been repeatedly intimated to me from your side the water that we ought to be prepared to take active measures for guiding the Revolution which seems to be expected among our Southern Neighbors—it is obvious enough that such an event, if it happens, will have great influence upon our affairs whether we wish it or not—but is the event desirable ? There are several points of view in which the present state of things ap-

pears more favorable to our interests than a change wou'd be: I wou'd say particularly that there is a considerable degree of political consequence derived from our being the *only* power bordering upon the Colonies of the European Nations & this consequence must increase in the double ratio of our own increment & that of those Colonies. It has already procured us some avowed consideration & if I mistake not much that is dissembled. If our Govt. was so consolidated as to have anything like a steady policy we cou'd from our local situation maintain as much influence among the maritime nations as wou'd be necessary. Spain must always know that we could give to her american subjects Independence: France can never hope to vie with England on the Sea, nor even to support her Colonies in war without a good understanding with us. Whatever value our friendship in this respect may have in the estimate of France, it must for the same reason have in that of England & the unwillingness of each to throw us into the scale of the other will in ordinary times be an adequate security for their treating us with moderation & respect.

If the Colonies of Spain were independent they cou'd be used against us by any *patronizing* power—now they can not be so used & are a very strong tie upon the parent State. I can hardly conceive of any State possessing a greater advantage over another than the U. S. over Spain. If we have not realized it, it still is evident that while Spain holds South America in subjection she must be extremely unwilling to be embroiled with us.

Nevertheless we ought to provide for every probable contingency & if a new power is in parturition which will grow up by our side we ought to attend to its birth & so to regulate its education as to render it as good a neighbor as possible.

You will see by the *Gazette* that we take some pains to guard the Community against the deceptions of La Fayette if he shou'd come, & I am persuaded very few will in reality be deceived, for I don't call those deceived who look only for a pretext to cover their weakness or mischief; but I don't mean to express an opinion that he will do no harm; I certainly think every Minister wou'd do harm who shou'd come & *offer every* thing tho' nothing shou'd be performed.*

* The allusion in this and in the letter of June 4th is to several articles pub-

We are now felicitating ourselves with the hope that Revolutionary France is going to that Ruin which must ultimately be her fate ; if the Austrians follow their strokes for a few weeks only all Europe may be again free—the French will soon crumble

lished in J. Russell's *Gazette—Commercial and Political*, Boston, May 30, June 3, and June 6, 1799.

The first states that in the belief of writers of letters, both at home and abroad, "the country was never in greater danger than at this moment," when the Directory of France, which "know perfectly well the nature of parties and their relative strength, are persuaded that our people will not *voluntarily* submit to great burdens and sufferings to secure themselves against those who *profess* to be their friends. . . . It is probable that a new minister will be sent to Philadelphia. . . . It is easier to manage the people home, than the Delegates of their government here, especially if you send for the purpose a man who enjoys the reputation of being their friend."

This is followed, on the same date, by a communication, signed AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, most probably from Mr. Cabot, beginning :

"It is most probable that the Directory have recalled from exile a certain Ex-General, supposed to be popular in America, professes a great regard for both countries, for the purpose of sending him Envoy Extraordinary to the United States. If this be true, it is probable that the measure was foreseen by the President and was one of the reasons which led to the late nomination ; for it must be admitted that it is infinitely better to meet the French on their own ground than to have their intriguing emissaries among us. And I contend that a more dangerous man than La Fayette could not be sent here . . . He would recall the tender remembrances of his *former* embassy . . . when he flew . . . *to fight the battles of freedom* and would conjure us by the past, the present, and the future to hear him and BELIEVE him.

"In the talents and integrity, the patriotism and the experience of the President of the United States, we have the most solid and consolatory pledges that nothing will be done by the Executive which will commit the independence and security of the country. . . . Let then honorable CONFIDENCE in the CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES, so essential to our prosperity and safety, be inculcated and cherished, foreign intrigue constantly exposed, and domestic faction stripped of its veil. . . ."

On June 3d another commuuication, signed as above, is published, speaking of another letter received from Europe. This article warns the people against the seductive wiles of the French Directory, and says : "The President's conduct must have greatly disconcerted them, but I am still inclined to think they will persevere in sending an Envoy."

On June 6th a continuation of this subject is presented, in which reference is made to the wrongs and blustering of France, until they found "JOHN ADAMS was not to be scared, when they changed their note and whined and almost wept about their dear Sister's love. . . . The Directory cannot send armies, but

under adversity, & there must be in the enslaved Countries Volcanoes of vengeance ready to burst forth.

I hope you don't grow tired with your office &, if you do, I entreat that you will not yield to personal considerations, but stay where you can render the country infinite service—I am too proud & I hope too sincere to flatter but I can not and ought not to conceal my opinion that you can do us more good than any man in the various & uncertain conjunctures which a little time may bring about.

Yours truly,

G. C.

R. King to R. Troup.*

London, 11 June, 1799.

Dear Sir :

I congratulate you upon the issue of our City Election, as also of that wh. has lately taken place in Virginia—The mail of this Morning brings us further advices of the Progress of the Allies both in Italy and in Switzerland—there is a good Prospect that both these Countries are soon to be delivered from the Plunder and Tyranny of the french—The English are preparing an Army to be employed on for. service, and the conjecture is that Holland is the object—the 45,000 Russians in Eng. Pay are in full march and will soon reach the scene of action—The Brest fleet, whose real object was to form a junction with that of Spain, were at the date of the last advices at Toulon. Ld. St. Vincent has followed them with a force sufficient to fight or block them up. On the

they can send Lafayette, if he is mean enough to come on such a trickish errand."

The embassy was not sent. The President's purpose was carried out, but it is interesting to see how earnestly the warning against the possible issue of such a proposition was given by those old patriots when they believed their country's welfare was at stake. There is a note on page 628, in vol. viii. of the *Life and Works of John Adams*, which says : "General Lafayette in a letter addressed to Mr. McHenry on the 18th of April, which has not been printed, says : 'I must express the happiness I have felt in hearing that plenipotentiary Ministers are going from the United States to bring about a reconciliation with France. I am persuaded, *as I have formerly written*, that the French government are in earnest.'"

* *Hamilton Papers*, vol. xvi., p. 197.

whole the prospects of the Allies are favorable & promising, and the Difficulties of france greater than at any former period. Still the french are a most formidable and extremely dangerous Enemy.

Yrs K.

[Endorsed] R. KING,
June 11. 99.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 41.

LONDON, June 11, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

The Packet will sail before I shall be able to give you any precise information concerning the effect of the Embarrassment of the Commission at Philadelphia upon the Business of the Commission here or relative to the affair that carried Genl. Maitland to America.

I am in hopes of being able to agree upon an explanatory & satisfactory Article respecting Sail cloth and Nails.

By the mail of this morning accts. are received of the Surrender of Citadel of Milan. Moreau after an unsuccessful attack upon the Austrian and Russian advanced Posts has retired from his Camp in the fork of the Janaro & the Po to Coni. This preserves his communications with France and gives to the army of Naples still a chance of forming a junction with him. The Arch Duke has entered Switzerland where several actions have taken place with the French under Massena, whose head quarters at the date of our last accounts was at Zurich, near which it seems probable a battle will be fought that must decide the fate of Switzerland. The 45,000 Russians in the pay of England are in full march and will soon arrive at the scene of action.

England is preparing an Expedition supposed to be intended for the deliverance of Holland. No certain accounts have been received of the Brest fleet since its arrival at Toulon. Lord St. Vincent has followed it with a sufficient force to block it up in Toulon or to fight it. . . .

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

F. AMES TO R. KING.

BOSTON, June 12th, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR:

I would be, or seem to be, *too civil by half*, if I were to tell you that it is the fashion to think we are strong in England; which however was the phrase of Genl. Washington. Now if any thing goes wrong in regard to the *amiable dispositions* which the Chronicle accused me of crediting G. B. for, you are to expect to be holden to answer. If the Emperor fights faint, if the K. of Prussia will not fight at all, or if Buonaparte fights too long or too hardly in Egypt we must look to some one in office to lay the blame upon. For your sake, I wish that Trowbridge may glean some laurels in Nelson's field &c, &c, &c. We shall never turn our eyes on ourselves and see how much we expect from others, how little we do for ourselves. Gore and our friends in London are mortified and sadly disappointed in the events of our politics. I admit you have reason to be so. The mission of new envoys was strange indeed, and though I am less surprised, I am no better pleased than I was at first. Yet, after all, I am not clear that our ground could have been by other, and I admit more sound measures, essentially better than it is. France is to be fought with till she is fought down, till her Power is moderate, and her ambition, which never will be moderate, will then be harmless. But as fighting for some years, building great ships and spending millions is not to our Dutch taste, and the most resentful of the enemies of France among us dare not say half as much as I do, the Public Spirit is yet a mere braggart, and spends itself in addresses. I think we ought to be and ought long ago to have been in open war. Even then a treaty offered by France, rich in promise, soothing to our pride, and an excuse for our parsimony that grudges the charges of self defence, would nearly as much paralise our energies as it wd. at present, if La Fayette should come with one. It is however due to our citizens to say they have outrun the Govt. with their purses and their zeal which was more precious. In March and April I saw clouds and thick darkness in our horizon. The antis were buzzing with their work of sedition and electioneering and seemed sure of getting the State Govts. into their hands to play them like batteries on the U. S. govt. They have been successfully counteracted, old Masstts.

stands firm—a few more antis say 5 or 10 at most in the house, the rest firmer and warmer on that very acct. In N. York all is going right as we hear. Burr is out of credit, tho' his water or bank scrip has turned reputation into the ready. Virginia sends say ten federalists (so called) and N. Carolina another set. Congress will be impressible, if public opinion should point to measures of energy. But I scarcely know what in our awkward posture ought to be proposed. To be active in planning and urging such measures is not to be expected in any govt. except from the high responsible officers, who unfortunately are excluded from our Congress. Events must be waited for, and if you take care that the Arch Duke is not beaten, we shall I think jog on as well as we have done till Jeff. becomes again the candidate for the chair. Then clamorque virorum clangorque tubarum ; I mean in the newspapers.

The Merchants say our trade flourishes, is well protected, little loss by captures : our navy is of course very popular and prodigiously so among the farmers. The Land and House Tax progresses and will yield something ; it may be made a great resource.

Mr. Warren will inform you of the death and pompous funeral of Gov. Sumner. Lt. Governor Gill, whom you know, proceeds to the chair for the year.

Yrs. truly

R. King to Secretary of State. No. 42.

London, June 14, 1799.

Dear Sir :

I last Evening received a note *from Ld. Grenville* * requesting to see me this morning. I waited upon *his Lordship in Cleveland Row*, who said that he had read with care *the Proceedings of the Commissioners under the 6th Article of our Treaty in the case of Bishop Inglis*, and that he was sorry *that the difficulties that had arisen at Philadelphia* had not been *removed in* some such way *as*

* Italics in cipher.

we had found successful *here;* that he thought *that construction had been* pushed too far, & doubtful *points* more pertinaceously *insisted on by both sides at Philadelphia* than was consistent with the real object *of the Commission*, the attainment of Justice *to the British Creditors* and in a manner so far as practicable compatible with the ordinary *course of our Judiciary.*

He was moreover ready to confess that on *our side* there did not appear to him sufficient Evidence to warrant the conclusion *that Bishop Inglis* could not have *recovered his Debt* in the ordinary course of Judicial proceedings; and on the other side it must be evident if the *construction of our Commissioners* was insisted upon, that it would in a great measure perhaps wholly defeat *the end of the Article.* Under these circumstances he said he had concluded *to write to Mr. Liston by the next Packet, to open a negotiation with our Government* with a view of making some such agreement respecting *the Provisions of the 6th Article*, as had taken place *between him & me* relative to those *of the 7th.* A Time might be agreed on, as was the *case* here, within which *our Courts* should decide *the Cases brought before them*,—this must be a convenient time having regard to the nature of the business; and being mutually understood would require no formality. A number *of cases in* each class might in this way *be decided by our Courts;* he presumed *that we* would not insist *that each Case* should go through *the Courts;* assignments might then be made *and the money paid* as had been agreed *to be done here.*

They had given *up the Posts*, and hitherto done whatever depended *upon them* to carry into *full Effect the Stipulations of the 7th Article; this they had* done from a confidence *that on our side* correspondent exertions would be made *to give effect to the Provisions of the 6th Article. Tho' Mr. Liston had* given them but little information respecting *the Commission at Philada., what he had* given was very important. *In his last Dispatch*, which informed them *of the secession of our Commissrs.*, he expressed his opinion *that the Commissioners* would not agree *in any awards* and that nothing would be recovered *under the Commission.* In this situation *of that Commissn. they* could not consent *that the Commission here should proceed;* he had no idea *of breaking it up*, but it must *be suspended until that at Philada. was again put in motion.*

From the tenor of this communication, as well as from some

expressions *made use of by Lord Grenville, I plainly saw that the measure* had been considered & settled *in the Cabinet* and consequently that it was very little likely that any observations *of mine wd.* effect *a change in what had been so agreed on ;* still *I judged it* suitable *to observe that I received with much concern* the communication *that his Lordship had just made ;* that true it was *that the Proceedings in the case of Bishop Inglis* bore strong marks of a temper *ill suited to the occasion, but that we could not* consent to take any portion *of Blame on this* account, as most clearly *the construction asserted by their Commissrs., and from which we* only exhibited the reasons *of our dissent,* was extravagant, and not to be acquiesced in or defended. *We had* promised compensation for the loss and damage *of British Creditors where the same* could not be recovered *in our Courts.* There was no evidence *in Bishop's Inglis' case that* compensation could not *there be recovered,* and consequently *no case was* made out for the interference *of the Commissrs.* So important did the question *appear to me* and especially in respect to *our National Faith that I* did not see *how we could* acquiesce in the reproach that wd. be fixed *on our character* by consenting to the inferences attempted to be established *by their Commissrs., and that I had* entertained the hope that the conduct *of their Commissrs. would* have appeared *to them in* such a light as to have produced *an instruction* calculated to have *removed the embarrassments that had* arrested the progress *of the Commission.*

That if from considerations of expediency it should be thought adviseable *to suspend for the present awards upon their Treasury by the Commission here, I* hoped there would be no objection *to the Commissrs.* proceeding in such preliminary Examinations as wd. bring *the Business to a state to be* soon finished *after the* satisfactory *removal of the Embarrassments* which at present *stop the Commissrs. at Philada. Lord Grenville made* some further remarks *& we* entered into a fruitless *conversation respecting the Construction given by their and our Commissrs. to the Provisions of the 6th Article, and his Lordship* concluded by saying that it would be most satisfactory *that the two Commissions should proceed* pari passu, and therefore that *the stopping of one should be the signal of the stopping of the other ;* if *during the suspension of the Commissn. at Philada., that at London should be employed* in carrying on its business to its last stage, nothing would remain *to be done here* when

the present *suspension at Philada. should cease, but to sign awards* which might be completed *in a week, the Commission here* brought to an end before any real progress had been *made at Philada. where new* difficulties and farther *suspension* might occur.

With respect *to the Treaty* signed *by Genl. Maitland, Lord Grenville said he* could not speak to me with the same decision as he had done respecting *the two Commissions, as it had been* concluded to wait for information *from the General after his arrival at St. Domingo. His own* opinion at present was *that the Treaty left their Islands* exposed to great Danger, & that it might be necessary to relinquish *the project of arrangement with Toussaint, and to* protect *their Trade and their Colonies* in the best manner in their power. *As I had* recd. no information *from you on this subject I only* observed *that we had had* no share in bringing about the state of things existing *at St. Domingo; that we as well as they had* important interests liable to be affected *by this new State of the Negroes and like* them were called upon to adopt measures of prudence & foresight for *our safety. We* desired *to act in concert with England for* obvious reasons, and for one stronger than the rest; that notwithstanding *the Treaty between Genl. Maitland and Toussaint, England* might treat *St. Domingo* as an enemy *country & our Trade*, should it be opened *with that Island*, might, in this event, again be liable to interruptions.

Lord Grenville assented to the justice of these observations, *and the conference ended after* some further conversation concerning the Dangers *to the British West Indies* as well *as to our Southern States from the numerous Inhabitants of St. Domingo.*

I expressed my opinion in favor of the complete *Independence of the Island, and of a free trade with it* as the best means of retaining *the negroes in the state of* mere *Cultivators* and of guarding against the Dangers that are apprehended *from them.* I am not sure that the late *successes of the allies against France*, and the rash *confidence* that seems to prevail *that France must soon submit to her* enemies, *have not some* influence upon *this Cabinet* respecting the future condition *of St. Domingo*, and possibly upon other objects *in which we have* important interests.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c, &c,

RUFUS KING.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Department of State, June 14, 1799.

Acknowledging the receipt of R. King's dispatches to No. 36, Mr. Pickering says that they had been transmitted to the President, who returned an instruction,

"To encourage you to persevere with all the decision which may be consistent with decency and politeness, in denying the right of British Men of War, to take from our Ships of War any men whatever, and from our merchant vessels any Americans, or foreigners, or even Englishmen. There is no principle by which they can justify taking by force, even from an American merchant vessel, even a deserter from their navy or army, much less private seamen. If they have a right, we have the same. I know not whether the exercise of it would not be useful to us. Their merchant vessels are more numerous than ours, and they have more foreigners, Swedes, Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, Danes, Dutch, &c than we." But the President considers the measure as destitute of principle.

CHAPTER IV.

Letters to and from Dr. Drury—Sons' Education—King to Lord Grenville—Blockade of Dutch Ports—Suspension of Commissioners under 7th Article—To Pickering—Silence about Situation of those under 6th Article—Blockade of Dutch Ports—Detention in England of Ship Providence—To Lord Grenville—Blockade not effective and Detentions of Vessels unjust—To Secretary of State on the Blockade—Always remonstrates when American Property captured—England will not change her Policy towards Neutrals—Vide-Admiralty Courts filled by incompetent Judges—Our Case not peculiar—Other Neutrals suffer also—Sees no Remedy—Recaptures—Impressment, English will not agree on a Convention—Contraband, not able to conclude an explanatory Article—King to Secretary of State—French meet with ruinous Defeats—Jacobin Revolution in Paris—St. Domingo—To the Same—Treaties with Barbary Powers should call for Payments in Money or Products of the U. S.—To Hamilton—Continental Affairs—King to S. Bourne—Advises American Vessels should remain at Amsterdam.

In a previous chapter it was mentioned that Mr. King had placed his sons under the charge of tutors and in primary schools, their ages being such that they were too young to enter in either of the great public schools of England. The correspondence between him and the instructors to whom he had entrusted them is carefully preserved, and the boys are spoken of as docile, intelligent, and diligent in their application to study. The more probable continuation of Mr. King in his office as Ambassador, and the advance of the boys in age and studies, led him to examine the character of the leading great schools, so that he might place them where they might derive most profit from their advanced scholarship, and from their careful, manly, and moral training. As the result of his deliberate investigation, he decided to place them with Dr. Joseph Drury at Harrow on the Hill, as the following note to him will show.

R. KING TO REV. DR. DRURY, HARROW.

June 15, 1799.

SIR :

I have concluded to send you my two boys, one eleven and the other ten years old, if you can receive them at the end of the approaching Holydays. It would be agreeable to me that they should make part of your family as soon as you can give them room ; and it will confer the greatest and most lasting benefit upon them as well as upon me, if they are confided to a Tutor, who under your direction and with your assistance shall lay the foundation of an Education upon which their future condition and character must chiefly, and I might add solely, depend.

I beg the favor of your answer, and in case you receive my children, that you will also be so obliging as to inform me when the Holydays end, and to suggest any other information upon the subject that you may think it useful for me to receive.

With most perfect respect I have the honor to be, Sir, yr. obt. & very H.ble Servt.

RUFUS KING.

JOSEPH DRURY TO R. KING.

HARROW, June 16, 1799.

SIR :

I shall be happy to receive your sons under my care any day after the 4th of September, at which time the School will begin to assemble after the vacation : every attention shall be shewn them on my part, and I am confident, that the Gentleman to whose Tuition they are to be intrusted will fully discharge his duty towards them. If the Eldest boy has not yet learned the Prosodia in his Grammar, I coud wish him to do it as soon as possible, and if he has already been taught to make Verses, to continue that Practice. This direction is of less consequence to his brother, who is a year younger ; but if he is perfect in the other Parts of his Grammar, I coud wish him also to turn his thoughts to Prosodia. The great object to be pursued by those of their age, is to be made perfect in the rules of their Grammar and to be taught their use by a constant application of them to the sentences in Latin which they render into English ; and for this Pur-

pose should define every Noun, conjugate the Verbs and give their rules for dependence of one on the other, but probably they have hitherto been employed in this way. . . .*

Your respectful and obedt. Servt.

JOSEPH DRURY.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GR. CUMBERLAND PLACE, June 28, 1799.

MY LORD :

I have had the honor to receive yr. Ld.p's note of the 14th inst. in answer to mine of the 23d of May respecting the American Ships in the port of Amsterdam, as well as those stopped in their voyages from the Dutch ports to America.

I will not give your Ld.p the trouble of any observations upon the question whether the momentary absence of the investing force from the station chosen to maintain a Blockade amounts to its discontinuance, it being understood, in the present instance, that the investing fleet had actually returned into port, and that a few frigates only were occasionally employed as the season wd. permit in short cruises off the Texel.

In this situation of the blockading fleet, the Ship George Washington, the master whereof had precise orders to proceed to Hamburgh and to avoid all blockaded Ports, being unable to reach the Port of his destination bore away for and arrived in the Texel, where the cargo was discharged and a return cargo taken on board antecedent to the resumption of the effective Blockade of that Port.

I take the liberty to send to yr. Ld.p inclosed the Declaration

* Mr. J. Winter, from Oxford House School, writes on April 2, 1799, upon notification that the young gentlemen would be transferred to another school :

"So far as they have advanced in their English, French and Latin, they have been well grounded and I have made it my study to inculcate into them the early seeds of Virtue and Religion, which will prove the best barrier against future temptation and the head strong passions of youth."

The same gentleman, speaking of the third son, James, on August 10th writes :

"Your young gentleman is indeed a prodigy in learning for his years, nor do I remember in the course of a quarter of a century (the time my school has been established) to have seen his equal."

of the Master of the Ship in proof of this statement and to renew the request that I may be enabled to inform him that he may proceed with his Ship & Cargo from the Texel to the United States without interruption by his Majesty's Cruisers.

With perfect Respect &c &c

R. KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

(*Private.*)

GR. CUMBERLAND PLACE, July 5, 1799.

MY LORD :

I understand that the Commissioners under the 7th article of our Treaty, stand adjourned to, and will meet tomorrow. I called at your Lordship's Door yesterday with the view of saying a word or two upon this Business ; if the Progress of the Commission must be arrested, I think it of little moment whether it is done by the tacit consent of our commissioners, or by an instruction to yours not to assist for the present at the meetings of the Board ; but as I have received no information from Col. Pickering upon this Subject, I am inclined to prefer the latter. I flatter myself from the silence of Col. Pickering that the Business at Philadelphia is in a train of accommodation, & that the suspension of the Commission here, will therefore be of short duration.

With Sentiments of perfect Respect, &c, &c,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.

(*Private.*)

July 5, 1799.

I am at a loss to explain your silence respecting the situation of the Commission at Philadelphia. Mr. Liston has not been communicative, so that we have but little information upon that subject. Here the Business was in good train and we had a prospect of its satisfactory conclusion ; but what has passed at Philad. has arrested our progress here. From your silence I am inclined to infer that some arrangement is forming by which the Business will go on. The Construction of the English Commissn.

is abusive & will not be supported nor insisted upon by their Government, tho' it may be difficult in the shape of negotiation to agree upon what is or ought to be the limits of such engagements.

I have some reason to hope that we shall not be exposed to the Embarrassment I have apprehended in the affair that carried G. M. to Philadelphia. I will explain myself in another letter.

Our vessels stopped in their voyages from the Dutch ports to the United States are still detained and waiting for their trials. I am full of concern on their account. You really did me no more than justice in the answer you sent to the Letter from R. I. respecting the Ship Providence. I do, as I always have done, make it an invariable rule to interfere with this Governt. in every case of the Detention of our vessels when I have any reason to believe such interference will prove serviceable : tho' in almost every instance the uniform answer is that the Courts alone are competent to examine and decide the matter of Complaint. I have more than once intended to give you this information in order that you might beforehand give the answer that after all will be received.

In general our countrymen have understood and done justice to my interference on their behalf : but there are some men, and I am happy to say that I have not found them numerous, to whom the most careful and unremitted attention to their affairs would not give satisfaction, and who would manifest their discontent chiefly because they did not find countenance and support in Pretensions which could not, because they ought not to, be insisted upon. I shall send you an exact account of the case of the Providence by which you will be able to appreciate the justice of Mr. Clark's complaint.

The late Revolution at Paris will according to present appearances increase the Energy and Exertions of the Govt. There seems to have been a pause in the motions of the allies both in Italy and in Switzerland. If the Austrians & Russians do not soon compleat the Deliverance of these Countries, I should apprehend they will in their turn be compelled to act on the defensive. The prospects of the allies are still good, but it will be several months before the campaign closes.

Yrs. &c.,
R. KING.

R. King to Lord Grenville.

Great Cumd. Place, July 8, 1799.

My Lord :

The great Expense and Embarrassments to which the Proprietors are liable in consequence of the Detention of their Ships & Cargoes, lead me to repeat the application that in the Month of May I made to yr. Ld.p respecting the Am. Ships Mahala Windsor, Ocean, Polly, America & Genet. These vessels, together with the Charlotte stopped in her voyage from America, are laden with valuable Cargoes shipped as and asserted to be bonâ fide American Property. The oftener I consider the question, and the more I am made acquainted with the facts relative to the Blockade of the Texel during the uncommon severity of last winter, the stronger is my persuasion that upon a full and impartial view of its circumstances, it will not be thought just or reasonable to consider the same to have amounted to an investment, the non-observance whereof ought to be followed by these forfeitures which are alone incurred by the wilful breach of an Effective Blockade.

With pleasure I entertain the expectation that corresponding sentiments will be found to exist and to have their proper influence in the Tribunal before which their cases are to be examined ; and I take the liberty to desire yr. Ld.sp's interference in order that this examination may be had with the least possible delay ; a claim, when yr. Ld.p considers the value of the Property, and the time it has already been detained, that will I hope appear to be founded in the principles of ordinary justice, and moreover supported by explicit engagements between the two Countries.

With perfect Respect &c, &c,

R. King.

R. King to Secretary of State. No. 43.

London July 15, 1799.

Dear Sir :

Excepting the numbers 43 and 58 I have received your letters inclusive : the chief points in your late letters relate to the capture of our merchant Ships and the impressment of our Seamen in different quarters by British cruisers, to the abusive interpretation

of the article of the English Treaty concerning Contraband, and to the Proclamation against our whale fishery issued by Admiral Pringle at the Cape of Good Hope.

Seven or eight of our vessels laden with valuable cargoes have been lately captured and are still detained for adjudication. These vessels were met in their voyages to or from the Dutch Ports declared to be blockaded. Several notes have passed between Lord Grenville and me on this subject with the view on my part of establishing a more limited and reasonable interpretation of the Law of Blockade, than is attempted to be enforced by the English Government. Nearly one hundred Danish, Prussian and other neutral ships have within a few months been in like manner intercepted, going to and returning from the United Provinces. Many of them, as well as some of ours, arrived in the Texel in the course of the last winter, the severity of which obliged the English fleet to return to their Ports leaving a few frigates only to make short cruises off the Texel as the season would allow.

My object has been to prove that in this situation of the investing fleet there could be no effective Blockade, which in my opinion cannot be said to exist without a competent force stationed and present at or near the entrance of the blockaded port : in opposition to which it is asserted that the *momentary* absence of the blockading fleet, however occasioned, does not amount to a discontinuance of the Blockade ; a construction intended to apply to the situation of the fleet charged with the Blockade of the Texel & which will, I apprehend, notwithstanding the remonstrances of all the neutral ministers be enforced by the Courts of Admiralty. Immediately after the notification of the Blockade of the Dutch ports, as a measure of prudence I communicated the same to our Minister in Holland, and since it has appeared to be the intention of this Government to consider the Texel in a state of blockade during the whole of the last winter, I have advised that two or three of our Ships which are still at Amsterdam should remain there or come out only in Ballast.

The Vessels captured for breach of Blockade with two ships stopped at St. Helena in their voyage from Bengal to Hamburgh, are the only American Ships that for some months past have been sent into the English Ports. I do not include recaptures, frequent instances of which continue as heretofore to occur. I have

of late heard of many vexatious captures in the West Indies and of one or two on the coast of Spain ; but I have received no particular information except from you concerning any of them.

Altho' I have more than once intimated to you that I saw no prospect of a favorable change in the general system of England towards Neutral Nations, I am nevertheless led from some observations in your last letters to recur to that subject for the purpose of adding a few remarks founded in my experience, and which the occasion seems to require. In no instance do I omit to interfere in behalf of such of our People whose Property has been captured by the English cruisers, when I have reason to believe that such interference will be followed with the smallest Benefit, whether the case is received immediately from the parties or thro' your Department. These interpositions, which since my residence here have been numerous, and I wish I could add, generally, advantageous, have been supported in my conference with the Ministers by every argument that suggested itself to me as likely to manifest the injustice & to shew the ill policy of these Depredations upon our Trade. I have been always heard & answered with much civility, but the Evil has continued, because it grows out of and is inherent in the naval power of the Nation. A discretion given to the Commanders of several hundred cruisers and privateers, with the most upright and best regulated intentions would often in its exercise be productive of injury and oppression, and when it is considered that but few of these commanders belong to the wealthy classes, and for this reason that many of them are more anxious to make Prizes than to gain Victories, we at once discover the chief source of the abuse of which we and others have so often and so ineffectually complained.

The common & technical answer is that the Captors have vested rights, which cannot be controuled by the Executive Govt., and that the matter is the subject of an exclusive cognizance belonging to the Prize Tribunals. This reply is calculated at once to put an end to all further interference, as it does not consist with decorum nor usage, to solicit the Judges concerning the business to be brought before them.

I know these Courts have the power and that they ought to protect the rights of Neutrals ; but to do it effectually they shou d oblige the Captors to make ample compensation for the Loss &

Damage of the claimants, not only in cases manifestly oppressive, but in all others, in which the Claimant establishes his title to have pursued his voyage without interruption. But this is not done, or so rarely done, as to have little or no influence in controuling future abuses.

The number of Vice-Admiralty Courts, which from the want of adequate salaries are generally filled by incompetent Judges, is the occasion of many of the irregular and vexatious decisions of which we complain.

The Judge of the High Court of Admiralty undoubtedly possesses great learning and distinguished abilities, but he is also a member of the King's Privy Council, occupied in the discussion of questions of State, and consulted concerning those maxims that have so far extended and which are employed to increase & to preserve the dominion of England upon the seas, and he cannot therefore avoid carrying the recollection of these views into the Court, nor prevent their influence upon the questions that are there to be decided. It is not alone against the Decrees of the subordinate Courts that we have reason to complain, but an Evil nearly as great proceeds from the impediments which retard or defeat a decision in the Court of Appeals ; these Impediments are the Distance of the inferior Courts from the Court of Appeals, their neglect & sometimes their Disinclination to furnish Copies of their Proceedings, the accidents to which such Copies are exposed on their way to this Country, the Rigour with wh. the Court of Appeals refuse to receive appeals made after the time limited for that purpose, & the vast accumulation of cases to be decided by the Lords of Appeal, all of whom are members of the King's Privy Council, and otherwise engaged in the Judiciary, Executive and Legislative Departments of the Nation, and none of whom for this reason can bestow the requisite time or an undivided attention upon the increasing catalogue of undecided cases.

This is not all, for after a Decree of Restoration is at last obtained from the Court of Appeals, the intricacy and succession of the process for carrying it into effect are such as to put it in the power of the Captor to delay almost indefinitely the Compensation expected from the Decree.

I might add if it would mitigate the case that our situation is neither peculiar nor new : the Swedes, the Danes, the Prussians

and other Neutrals repeat during the present war the same unavailing complaints which both England and France have been accustomed to receive during every war of the present century. I am able to suggest no immediate remedy : perhaps none can at present be devised. If our Treaties contained more precise Rules & Stipulations on the subject of Maritime Law, they might have some effect in lessening the Injury ; but it is by no means certain that England will agree to such Stipulations as shall materially affect or alter the System she has so long & so successfully pursued.

Recaptures.

I have not seen the Laws of the Last Session and am therefore ignorant of the alterations that may have been made in the Law concerning Captures and recaptures, nor do I know whether its Provisions extend to any other than Cases of American Ships and Property. Some time since I took notice of this subject in one of my Dispatches to you, and expressed an opinion that with regard to Foreign Vessels and Property recaptured by our Ships of war, the English, which is the lowest rate of Salvage, should be adopted, and for this reason that the English will recapture more of our Vessels than we shall of theirs, & consequently we shall be gainers by their rule.

In cases of the recapture of foreign Vessels and effects by the English cruizers the Recaptors are entitled to the whole or only a portion of the Property according to the usage of the Nation to which the recaptured Ship or effects belonged, and when no usage can be ascertained, the Salvage is regulated by the law concerning the recapture of English property. By a Resolve of Congress, passed I believe in 1780, the recaptors of a French vessel are entitled to the whole of the recapture if it had been twenty four hours in the enemy's possession. I have not examined this Resolve, nor do I recollect whether it can be considered as a rule applicable to all cases of foreign property recaptured by our Ships on the High Seas, or whether it is confined to the Ships of particular nations. It is a point of much consequence & should be seasonably attended to. Hitherto the English rule has been applied in cases of recaptured American Ships, because it has been believed that we had no established usage on this Point.

Seamen.

In respect to the Impressment of our Seamen, they continue to be taken from our Merchant service, whenever they do not possess certificates of Citizenship, and sometimes these fail to afford them that protection they were issued to secure. There appears to be a real disposition to discharge our Seamen upon satisfactory proof of their citizenship, provided they have not voluntarily entered in the English Navy (the reciprocity of which exception they however refuse), but the known and habitual carelessness of Seamen, the consequent hardship of obliging them to prove their citizenship, the scruples with which their certificates are received, the evidence upon which they are discredited, and the many instances of real Americans detained for want of satisfactory proof of their citizenship have confirmed me in my first opinion of the ill Policy of the Law by which we acquiesced in this Certificate regulation. As you know I have attempted again and again but without success to convince this Governt. that both Justice and a friendly Policy required of them to agree with us in a convention upon this subject, that should at the same time give to them as well as to us adequate and reasonable security in regard to our respective Interests. Latterly I have ceased to urge it from a full persuasion that my exertions would be fruitless; nor do I believe that any such agreement will ever be made during a war, tho' it may possibly be concluded in time of Peace.

It is very generally known throughout the English navy, that Major Lenox resides here for the purpose of assisting our Seamen, from whom he receives daily applications and thro' whose interference with the Admiralty many of them are discharged. I see no probability that the office can be discontinued during the war, nor do I think it can be executed with more fidelity and success.

Contraband.

I have not yet been able to conclude an explanatory article respecting Naval Stores. As I understand the present state of the negotiation Lord Grenville has agreed to two of three propositions that I have submitted to him.

1st. that all Iron nails of less than four inches long should be

excepted from and not deemed to be included within the provisions of the 18th Article of our Treaty.

2d. that Oznaburghs, Ticklenburgs, Russian sheetings and all other cloth made of flax or hemp, and not generally and chiefly used for the sails of Ships, should also be excepted from & not deemed to be included within the Provisions of the Article.

The third proposition made since the receipt of your last letters, that Iron in flat and square bars should in like manner be excepted, is in a train of Examination and will I hope be acceded to. Other articles might be added, but so much time is required for consideration and so many persons must be consulted that I shall be glad to conclude an Article containing these three propositions. Even these have been several months in discussion & remain still to be settled.

The copy of the Proclamation that you sent me, with a verbal alteration, is genuine. I have laid it before Ld. Grenville, who has told me that he had taken measures to be informed upon the subject and hoped soon to be able to confer with me respecting it. I cannot tell beforehand how this complaint will be answered, but since the analogous complaint of England respecting the conduct and pretensions of Spain in the affair of Nootka, I do not perceive, if they even wish it, how they can justify the Proclamation.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 44.

LONDON, July 15, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

The armies in Switzerland have remained inactive for several weeks: perhaps the Arch Duke waits the arrival of the large body of Russians, that has been for a long time on its march, and must soon be upon the Rhine, if such is its Destination.

The late actions in Italy which have been so ruinous to the French with the surrender of the Citadel of Turin and other strong Places, must in all probability be followed by the total expulsion of the French armies from that country. MacDonald is said to have left his heavy Artillery, Baggage & Plunder with

the small garrisons that remain in the south of Italy, but these must fall into the hands of the allies, if they are not already taken by the inhabitants, who everywhere manifest a Disposition to rise and cooperate with the allies. We have no satisfactory account of the French fleet in the Mediterranean, nor does it seem to be known whether they are in Toulon or at sea. The English are vastly superior in that sea to the forces of both France and Spain.

The prevailing opinion has been that the late Revolution at Paris was effected by the Jacobins, and that it would be the signal for measures of great and extensive energy : but it is nearly a month since the change took place and we have yet seen no evidence that such measures have been or are likely to be adopted. Moreau has received no reinforcements, and the few thousand troops sent to Massena had for several months been encamped in the neighbourhood of Lyons : The interior of France is much agitated ; insurrections prevail in some of the Departments, and the levy of taxes and recruits meets with open Resistance.

Nothing transpires concerning the object of the expedition ostensibly preparing in this country ; the troops are assembling at Southampton, and transports are collecting for their transportation.

I find very little in the late French papers respecting America, nor do I hear anything from Paris concerning the opinion of the new Government. Perhaps nothing can be inferred from the silence that seems to be observed upon our affairs ; but the Party that has overturned the Directory, as has formerly been the case on similar occasions, are disposed to enumerate and publish the faults of their Predecessors. The Ex-Directory are charged among other crimes, with having by their plans disaffected and plundered the allied Republicks, alluding to Italy & Switzerland ; but not a word in reference to America has escaped any member of either of the Councils, altho' they seem anxious to swell the catalogue of offences imputed to the Triumvirs. Again all the Ministers except Talleyrand have been changed ; he still remains in place and is supposed to be protected and supported by both Siéyes & Barras. It is said he will be Siéyes' successor at Berlin. One of the last French papers states as an article of intelligence that all the Commissions granted to American Consuls in the different French Ports were repealed.

But I am uncertain whether this paragraph inaccurately refers to the act of our own Government, or announces the withdrawing of the Exequaturs of our Consuls by the Directory. Mount-florence who was sent by Mr. Murray to receive the Papers of our Consul General & who was permitted by the overthrown Directory to reside in Paris for that purpose, has been ordered to quit Paris and the French territories by their successors.

No intelligence has yet been received from Genl. Maitland since his arrival at St. Domingo, & no decision has therefore taken place upon that subject. From a conference that I have had with Mr. Dundas (to whose Department whatever relates to St. Domingo belongs) I am led to expect fewer Difficulties in the progress of that Business than I had apprehended from the tenor of my conference with Lord Grenville. England is in open war with France, she is therefore at full liberty to concert measures with Toussaint, or with others for the separation of St. Domingo from the Dominions of France. A war between us and France would in like manner do away the well founded scruples on this subject that belong to the relations of Peace.

The Commission under the 7th Article of the English Treaty stands suspended, and will remain so until some means are devised to put in motion the Commission at Philada.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 45.

LONDON, July 15, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

Mr. Smith, our Minister at Lisbon, informs me that he is apprehensive that O'Brien will be obliged to draw upon him beyond the amount of the funds in his hands, and requests of me to inform him whether he could borrow money in London. I have just answered that from the Disposition manifested heretofore by Baring's house I have little doubt that they would on my application pay the bills he should draw on them for the purpose of discharging his acceptance of O'Brien's drafts, and that by the next mail I should probably be enabled to give him more precise information on this point. Mr. Smith at the same time sent me

Extracts of several of O'Brien's Letters, stating that the Dey of Algiers & his Ministers had requested him to write to Mr. Smith to procure for them from England twenty 24 Pounders (Brass), a Sextant, some mathematical instruments, charts and other articles of which they made out a list ; the guns to be paid for by the Algerine Govt. when they are delivered. I have taken the liberty to give my opinion to Mr. Smith that this request should by no means be gratified.

When we have once concluded a Peace with the Barbary Powers, which in my judgment should be purchased with money or the Productions of our own country, we ought to avail ourselves of the circumstances of our great distance and of our being ourselves obliged to purchase in foreign Countries the articles that the Barbary Powers might otherwise ask of us, to avoid their capricious & irregular Demands. It would be natural, as I have intimated to Mr. Smith, for O'Brien to say that we make no brass in America ; that neither brass Cannon, nor Sextants, nor charts, nor any other of the articles required can be purchased there ; that we have no agent in England authorized, or who has funds to make such Purchases ; that England does not allow the Exportation of Copper, or Brass, or any military or naval stores, being herself obliged to purchase these articles, to carry on the war against France.

If we yield to the Execution of an order of this kind, we establish a Precedent that it will be difficult to get rid of, and our Consul will be engaged in perpetual and expensive Brokerage for the Dey & his Ministers. How far we have already gone in this course I do not know ; if we have begun, the sooner we stop the better ; and if we have not begun, I am confident that we ought not to.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO WM. SMITH, ESQ., LISBON.

LONDON, 15th July, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

(This letter is nearly verbatim the same as the above, and concludes) :

I make these observations for your consideration, remarking at the same time that as this Business is confided to you & not to me, and as your particular knowledge of our Barbary affairs, as well as of the views of our Govt. concerning them, enable you to form a better opinion respecting them than I can, I shall notwithstanding my objections against the measure, do whatever shall be in my power to execute any order upon this subject that you shall send me.

With sincere Regard & Attachment &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

KING TO HAMILTON.*

LONDON, July 15th, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

The French still maintain themselves in Switzerland, and though unless soon and strongly reinforced, they will be driven out of it. The success of the allies has been almost uninterrupted in Italy, from whence, according to present appearances, the enemy must in a short time be totally expelled. Thus far, the coalition has performed prodigies ; but the confederates are not without mutual jealousies, which will increase with their success, and which already has had the effect of preventing an agreement upon a precise and ultimate object. Between England and Russia the greatest union and confidence exist ; and these powers do not disagree in what ought to be the end aimed at and avowed. An uncommon coldness, and even more than coldness, exists between Austria and England ; and between the former and Russia there is less cordiality than could be wished and expected. The issue of the campaign, for these reasons, is less certain than it would be were the allies heartily and disinterestedly engaged in the only species of war that can give peace and security to the different nations of Europe.

It is extremely difficult yet to understand the late changes in Paris. There are persons who see in them the death blow to French republicanism. I doubt very much this opinion, and am inclined to consider the last in the same light as I have done the former revolutions. I did expect that the changes would be fol-

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 410.

lowed by measures of more energy than have been adopted. There seems to be no reason to suppose that we are likely to be benefitted by the revolution. Siéyes' opinions concerning America are no secret, and they give us no room to expect a treatment different from that we have so long and patiently endured. . . .

R. KING TO SYLVANUS BOURNE, CONSUL, AMSTERDAM.

LONDON, July 16, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I have received an answer to my application concerning the George Washington and the other American Vessels at Amsterdam. After considering the Papers which disclose the circumstances in which the George Washington entered the Texel, this Government declines to give any assurance that this vessel with her Cargo may without interruption pursue her voyage back to the U. S.; the inference is that the English Cruisers will capture the vessels remaining in the Texel, in case they leave that Port.

My advice is that they remain where they are, or come out only in Ballast. We are ascertained that they will be taken if they come out with Cargoes, and I am afraid that they will not escape even in Ballast; but I think the risque of capture and even of condemnation is less if they are without Cargoes.

With great Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER V.

King to Pickering—Smith's Mission to Constantinople delayed—Expedition to Holland—Revolution in Paris jacobinical—To Sir J. Nichol—Trade between Surinam and Holland—Sedgwick to King—President's Course relative to France disapproved—Genl. Marshall's Election will give Tone to federal Politics South—Delay in raising the Army—Death of Govr. Sumner—Western New York prosperous—People happy—Massachusetts' Affairs—King to Secretary of State—Talleyrand's Resignation—Danes and Swedes exclude Privateers from their Ports—Consul from Denmark—Bonaparte's Retreat from Acre—King to E. Nepean—Claim for Indemnity for a Broadside fired into an American Ship—To Lord Grenville, complaining of Conduct of Govr. of St. Helena—Contraband of War in West Indies—Piracy of Crew of American Brig Nancy—Vessels illegally condemned in Jamaica—To Wm. Fawkner—Asks Permission to export Copper—King's Remonstrances against British Acts.

R. King to Col. Pickering.

(*Private.*)

July 16, 1799.

Dr. Sir :

Mr. Smith tells me that you had given your consent that your Son should accompany him to Constantinople, and, as the state of things which is understood to have recommended a suspension of the mission is again changed, the mission may be resumed : hence your Son appears undecided respecting his visit to this Country. In a late letter from Mr. Smith he expresses an inclination to come here himself during some part of the next winter with the view of gaining information and making the requisite Preparation for the Treaty. If nothing more important shall detain him at Lisbon, which is not likely to be the case, I should think his visit here would be of considerable advantage.

Lord Elgin will embark in a few days ; he goes on an Extraordinary Embassy, and will therefore probably have left Constanti-

nople before Mr. Smith's arrival. Perhaps we shall lose little by the Delay. Nothing can be done at the Porte without the approbation of the Grand Vizier, who as we hear has gone with an army into Syria and is ordered to deliver that country as well as Egypt from the Pollutions of the French. When the Vizier is absent it is, as I am informed, customary for Foreign Ministers residing at the Porte to keep agents in the Camp of the Vizier for the transaction of any Business requiring his approbation. This with the necessary Couriers would be attended with great Expense, & we should find it a most inconvenient way of negotiating a Treaty.

In one of my public Letters I have made a remark or two concerning the office of Maj. Lenox ; but I will add a word here in answer to your letter upon that subject. I think the office as necessary, indeed more so than when it was first instituted. The Consul is otherwise employed and cannot bestow the requisite personal attention to the Protection of our Seamen. The business requires the constant care of a discreet and methodical officer, whose personal credit and interference are often more useful than the customary & written applications. It is due to Maj. Lenox to say that no one can discharge these Duties with more intelligence, regularity and success than he does. With regard to his Salary I can only say that it is manifestly too small.

With sincere Regards &c

R. KING.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.

(*Private.*)

LONDON, July 20, 1799.

The detention of the Packet gave me the opportunity of adding a word or two to my late letters. We have Paris Papers to the 15th. They confirm the accounts received by Hamburgh of the critical situation of Moreau and MacDonald in Italy. The alternative seems to be a speedy retreat into France from the Genoese Territory, or a surrender to the allies after a fruitless and obstinate struggle. Nothing new has lately occurred upon the Rhine or in Switzerland.

The Expedition going from this country is in great forwardness. We are told that its object is certainly Holland ; or that a Corps

of Russians and another of Swedes, to be landed at Lubeck, are to cooperate ; as these are rumours which on such occasions are busily circulated, we cannot place much Reliance upon their accuracy ; that England will act in concert with some other power, if Holland is the object, I am disposed to believe ; and several circumstances render it probable that some other Powers are disposed to give their assistance. If Russia wd. act with decision, the Business would be finished this Campaign ; no confidence is entertained that this Event is likely to take place.

There can be no longer a doubt of the character of the late change at Paris, which has been purely jacobinical : the Clubs are again opened, and the Jacobins are everywhere active to electrify the People. The junction of the French and Spanish fleets at Carthagena may possibly enable them, notwithstanding the superiority of the English, to return to Cadiz or even to Brest, from whence they would threaten and alarm both England & Ireland.

Lord St. Vincent's ill health has obliged him to give the command of the fleet to Keith—an event much regretted, as the former enjoys, and deservedly, the greatest consideration.

We have just heard of the death of P. Henry—will a successor be named ? I answer yes ! ! ! is the present a suitable moment for negotiation ? and with what consistency can it be pursued at the same time that Stevens is executing his orders at St. Domingo ?

Yrs. with great truth

R. K.

R. King to Sir Jno. Nichol.

(*Private.*)

Gt. Cumbd. Place, 22 July, 1799.

Dr. Sir :

Will you give me leave to request of you to read the enclosed Paper delivered to me this morning by Capt. Robinson, master & owner of the American Ship Eliza & Cargo. You will at once perceive that entertaining the opinion I do respecting the legality of the neutral trade carried on between Surinam & Holland, I cannot make an official application to your Govt. for the purpose of attaining the end aimed at in this paper ; because this would be tacitly to relinquish a principle that I think to be founded in

Justice. Still the ruin that must follow an adverse Decision in the ordinary terms of the Sentence, and the very great Distress in which I see Capt. Robinson, whom for many years I have known and esteemed as an honest, industrious and worthy man, lead me to ask your consideration whether in the event of an adverse Sentence in the Court of Appeals (wh. I continue to hope will not take place) it will not be practicable to draw up the Sentence, if the facts will warrant it, in a manner that shall preclude the Underwriters from making use of it to defeat the Demand of the assured.

I entreat your indulgence in favor of this application from the regard due to the motives which alone have produced it, and with sentiments of sincere respect and esteem, have the honor to be &c &c. R. KING.

T. SEDGWICK TO R. KING.

STOCKBRIDGE, 26th July, 1799.

DEAR SIR— . . . Immediately before I left Philadelphia in March, if I recollect the time, I gave you a particular history of the disgusting message, announcing "the plausible appearance of probability" of a pacific temper on the part of the french government. Nothing could have been more mischievous in its tendency, but it has not, very extensively, had the effect you feared to divide the *subordinate* friends of the government. Sentiment and opinion, among them, is perfectly unanimous. I have never conversed with an individual, on the subject, who did not, unequivocally, reprobate the measure. In another view the measure has produced very pernicious effects. The P——t by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances had obtained an elevation, which, certainly, his friends did not expect. The principal cause of this was a supposed just appreciation of the conduct of france toward our country, a strong resentment of our wrongs and a dignified firmness in supporting our honor and steadily adhering to that system, such as it is, which had been adopted by the friends of Government. The foundation on which confidence rested has been, by this strange measure, destroyed, and the consequences are disagreeable and may be more so. I do not undertake even to conjecture their nature or extent, but it is impossible to reoccupy the ground which has been lost.

The events of the next congressional campaign, it is impossible to foretell. They may, and probably will, be influenced by those of the military campaign in Europe. They must, however, be conformed to the character of the federal majority of the house of representatives. The result of the election has, on the whole, been as favorable as could have been expected. The federal majority is very large—We have heretofore experienced that there were shades of federalism, and we know that there are infinite degrees as well of firmness of nerve, as of mental comprehension. It is not enough to ensure success to right measures that a majority of the members approve, generally, the conduct of the administration. These considerations were never more important than at the present moment.

The opinions I have entertained of the course of conduct, which it would have been and is wise and prudent to pursue in the critical & delicate state of our affairs are greatly strengthened by your approbation of them. Hitherto they have not been approved by a majority. Their ultimate prevalence will, probably, depend considerably, perhaps altogether, on individuals. General Marshall you know is a member of the House of Representatives. His talents, his character and the situation he has been in, will combine to give him an influence, which will be further aided by the scene which he immediately represents. He may and probably will give a tone to the federal politics South of the Susquehannah. I well know the respect he entertains for you and for your opinions. I have brought this subject to your mind that you may decide on the propriety of a communication of your sentiments to him, which you may do in season to be useful. Should he, which, indeed, I do not expect, conform his political conduct generally, to what seems indicated by his public declaration relative to the alien & sedition acts, it would have been better that his insignificant predecessor should have been re-elected. There never has been an instance where the commencement of a political career was so important as is that of General Marshall.

The delay in raising the army, for which provision was *absolutely* made the session before last, has been shameful and almost unpardonable. Whether this is attributable to the Secretary alone or ought to be shared between him and his Principal I am

not positive, but believe the latter. What makes this conduct the more unaccountable is a comparison of it with another executive measure.

The considerations which induced the provision to raise *absolutely* the small force of 12 regiments were indispensable and are obvious,—they were such as admitted not of delay in the execution. Yet the recruiting service is hardly begun under it—I have, however, much pleasure in hearing that it is generally successful, as far as I have had any information. At the last session, [a similar one of the preceding session, having expired,] an act was passed giving *eventual* authority to the President to augment the Army. This authority was to be exercised only "in case a war should break out between the U. S. and a foreign european power, or in case of imminent danger of invasion." Before the recruiting service was begun to raise the 12 regiments & even before the officers in this neighborhood had received their commissions, a resolution was taken and published to appoint the officers of the eventual army. When I saw this, and was requested to make a nomination of officers, I took the liberty of remonstrating against the measure & I have since received from the Secy. at war an attempt to vindicate the measure—It is a feeble one—I have, also, received the most certain evidence that the Secy. of state and of the treasury were not consulted at all on the subject. You will see from all this, my dear sir, that our situation is not a pleasant one. It is now about seven weeks since I wrote on the subject and I have not heard whether the business is progressing or has been abandoned.

It was with infinite reluctance that I agreed to go into the House of Representatives and I shall find my situation there painful beyond expression, if the federalists can not be brought to act homogeneously. I shall attend at the commencement of the session & hope that I shall not be subjected to the chagrin I have endured the three last sessions. I never liked half measures, and at present I think them disgraceful and dangerous—In point of reputation I wish not to appear as approving measures which to my mind are obviously feeble & unmanly. Hitherto I have permitted myself to be carried unresistingly down the current, because it has been thought imprudent to exhibit a difference of opinion among the federalists. But we have assumed an awkward

attitude which cannot, I believe, be long maintained. Our station is indefensible ; for admitting the justness of assuming it, it follows irresistibly that we ought to have ascended much higher.

The death of Governor Sumner is a deplorable event. It will be difficult if not impossible to obtain a successor in all respects his equal. Great talents aren't indispensable, but those which are so, he possessed, in an eminent degree. As he died during the session of the legislature, the federal members ought instantly to have fixed on a candidate, to have given to the public an object to rest upon. At present there are not less than a dozen men who have their particular friends who appear attached to them, & I fear a division of good men which cannot easily be reconciled. Nothing now can be ultimately determined on, untill a meeting of the Legislature, which does not take place untill January.

I have never been more pleased with an excursion than the one I lately made into the western part of the state of New York—I went about 140 miles to the west of the settlements on the Mohawk—the face of the country is delightful and the crops exceed any thing I have ever before seen ; but what is infinitely more agreeable, the people every where are contented & happy & well disposed to support the measures of the Government, except in that part of the country called the military tract where there is great uncertainty as to the titles of the Lands & the settlers composed, generally, of a character different from the rest.—Drawing a meridian line thro' Schenectady and longitudinal one at the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson, I have not the smallest doubt that west of the former & north of the latter, the emigrants, within the last 12 years, settled in the state of New York, are more than 120000 souls.

By any thing you saw before you left the Country you can form no idea of the degree of malignity of our Jacobins. Their industry is equal to their malignity. In this County this is eminently the case. During the administration of Adams, (S.) it unfortunately happened, that he had the appointment of all the Judges of our common pleas, the Sheriff, the Judge & the Register of Probate, and all, except one, are antifederal. Their influence, from their official relations and their standing in other respects, and the decency of their conduct, is considerable but is not &

probably will not be prevalent. It is, however, such as to require vigilance and exertion among the enlightened & well disposed. This is an instance, among many others, which shews the importance that the executive should be lodged in pure hands.

The wonderful successes of the Allies in Europe were not expected here. It is evident that the Directory trembles as well from the risque they have run by sending their last maritime force into the mediterranean, as the infinite pains they take to impress, on their miserably enslaved subjects, a belief of an incredible fact —that the french ministers were assassinated by the orders of the Austrian Government. If they cannot rekindle the spirit of enthusiasts, which at present seems extinct, it seems probable that in the present campaign, a serious impression, if nothing more, will be made upon them. In alliance every faculty ought to be exerted in the onset, because a cordial cooperation for any length of time, cannot, reasonably, be expected. I dread the common effects of disunion and jealousy, and I most sincerely hope they may, in the present instance, be prevented or at least delayed, until the enemy shall have become more impotent than at present.

I have mentioned the conduct of the English commissioners on the sixth article of the late treaty—Since that I have heard nothing on the subject. It would be unfortunate should any occurrence take place to interrupt the existing harmony between the two countries : and ought if possible to be prevented. The reason why I have mentioned this subject must be obvious to you.

I pray you, my dear sir, to write me as frequently as you can with convenience. There never was a time when communications were so ardently desired & so grateful. . . .

I am ever sincerely your friend.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 46.

LONDON, July 30, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

Talleyrand having been denounced by the Clubs and in the Journals, has been obliged to give in his resignation, which, as we hear, has been accepted ; he has also published his Vindication

in which he repels among other charges that of having alienated the United States from the Republic, by asserting that it has been in consequence of a language full of deference and moderation, as well as of dignity, addressed by him to the U. S., instead of expressions severe and irritating, desired by his accusers, that American Negotiators *have arrived in France*. The Denunciation and Apology are unworthy of notice except so far as they may be considered evidence of an opinion that a declared war with us would not be profitable ; a Criterion however immoral, which the Denunciation and apology of the same parties for not sending an Expedition against Portugal, as well as the encreased activity of the Privateers, prove still to be the Standard of French Policy.

We have rumours of a Naval Battle between the English and combined fleets in the Mediterranean ; but are without any information from that quarter since the 8th instant, the date of the last advices from Gibraltar.

Three or four Frigates from Syria fell into the hands of the English Squadron on the Coast of Genoa about the middle of June ; by these Ships the Reports from Constantinople of the retreat of Buonaparte from Acre are confirmed and according to the latest intelligence from that quarter, the fate of this celebrated Soldier cannot be long deferred.

The Danish and Swedish Envoys here have delivered a joint note to this Government, communicating a recent Regulation, adopted by their respective Nations, by which the Privateers of all Nations are excluded from the Danish and Swedish Ports, and the sale of Prizes prohibited under the penalty of being seized and restored to the original Owners. I am promised a copy of the Note which I shall send to you. Since the date of my last, the Danish Envoy, by order of his Court, wrote me a letter announcing the King's intention to name a consul to reside in the U. S. I replied that I would immediately communicate the intimation to my Government, and that I could beforehand, without any reserve, express my personal conviction that the Consul proposed to be sent to us, would be received in a manner that would not fail to be satisfactory ; it will be expected that you will authorise me to renew this assurance in the name of the President, should he approve of it.

Nothing has occurred in Italy since the bloody Battles upon the

Trevia ; 35,000 of the 45,000 Russians in the pay of England are to join the Arch Duke in Switzerland, and the other 10,000 to be sent to Suwarrow.

The English Expedition is in great forwardness, if we credit the reports which are published with uncommon and somewhat suspicious zeal ; the marches of the Troops increase the probability that Holland is the object.

General Maitland has arrived from the West Indies ; I have not yet seen him, nor have I received any authentic information of his Report to the Government.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c, &c,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, July 31, 1799.

SIR :

I take the liberty to send you enclosed the copy of a letter, with sundry Papers, that I have lately received from Col. Pickering, Secretary of the State of the U. S., respecting the damage sustained by the American ship Aurora from a Broadside fired into her by his Majesty's Ship of War Latona. Some of these Papers were formerly before me, and I advised the agent of the owners of the Aurora to institute a suit against Capt. Southern ; but as doubts are entertained whether under the circumstances of the case such suit can be supported, and as no suit can be instituted against the King as against a private owner, I request you to submit this claim for indemnification, which appears to me to be in all respects just, to the consideration of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty ; observing only that in a case not altogether dissimilar in its circumstances and the same in the Principles by which it was decided, the American Government lately paid to the British Claimant & Sufferer a sum more than double to that claimed in the present instance. The case alluded to is that of the British Letter of Mark Niger, captured by an American Frigate. A judicial remedy is impracticable, and unless the Government indemnify the owners, their claim will entirely fail.

With very great Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Aug. 1, 1799.

MY LORD:

In consequence of the loss and expence arising from the detention of the American Ships Iphigenia, Martin Master, & Kensington, Kerr Master, I take the liberty to recall to your Lordship's recollection my note of the 19th of February last, complaining of the conduct of the Governor of St. Helena in detaining them.

I persuade myself to believe that your Lordship will upon a simple view of these cases, see and be disposed to interfere for the purpose of removing the hardships to which their owners are exposed by not being able to obtain a Trial.

I at the same time take the liberty to renew my application of the 20th ultimo, respecting the capture and detention of the American Ship Acteon, Wilson Master; as this vessel is laden with Muskets purchased for the United States, and for the State of Virginia, I have flattered myself that your Lordship would agree with me in the opinion that on this account the case is entitled to some priority in the order of Decisions.

With perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Aug. 1, 1799.

MY LORD:

The number of complaints that I continue to receive of the interruption of the American trade in the West India Seas by his Majesty's cruisers, occasioned by a mistaken interpretation of our Treaty in respect to the articles of Contraband, will be my apology for recalling your Lordship's attention to my former Representations upon this subject.

As I understand the import of our past correspondence, the explanations concerning Nails and Sail Cloth are settled, and nothing remains but to agree that "Iron in Square or flat Bars" is not contraband of war: a proposition so plain and reasonable that I flatter myself no difference of opinion respecting it, can exist between us.

A short article to this effect, and including the other two points,

would at once put an end to the greatest portion of the Complaints, that have so frequently occurred in the course of the last ten months.

With very great Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Aug. 2, 1799.

MY LORD:

As a preliminary step, I take the liberty to send your Lordship inclosed a Letter with Sundry Papers that I have received from the American Consul for the Port of London, and which relate to a Piracy lately committed by a part of the Crew of the American Brig Nancy. This Vessel is now in the Harbour of Cork and the seamen are on the British ships of war under the command of Admiral Kingsmill. Measures have been taken to inform the Captain of this vessel, who was left at Cadiz, of her arrival at Cork, and he may in a short time be expected here to assist in the prosecution of the offenders.

I request your Lordship's interference in order that the Seamen in question may be secured for trial, and that the vessel and Cargo may be detained for their legal owners.

With great Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, August 2, 1799.

MY LORD:

I have received the orders of the President of the U. S. to represent to your Lordship the cases of the Ships Blenheim and Voluptas, belonging to American Citizens, and illegally condemned in the Vice Admiralty Court at Jamaica.

Exact statements of these cases, as the same can be established by satisfactory evidence, are contained in the Petitions to his Majesty in Council, that are herewith transmitted to your Lordship. These Statements are so particular and demonstrate in so

clear a manner the Right of the Claimants to be heard on appeal, that I am not willing to detain your Lordship by any observations on my part, to prove what is thereby so well established.

I content myself therefore by requesting your Lordship's interference, in order that the Claimants in these cases may be allowed to prosecute their claims in the competent Tribunals for a Restoration of their Property.

With perfect Consideration & Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO WM. FAWKENER, ESQ.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Augt. 3. 1799.

SIR:

According to advices that I have lately received from Philadelphia, the Government of the U. S. is in want of Copper Sheathing and other copper materials to sheath eight or ten Frigates and six ships of war, which are now building, and in the course of a few months will be ready for sea. Between fifteen and sixteen tons of copper are necessary for the sheathing of a Frigate, and between eight and nine tons for a Sloop of War: ten Frigates and six Sloops of war will therefore require about Two Hundred Tons of copper to sheath them.

I am sensible of the present peculiar situation of the copper Trade, and that the Price of copper continues to be very high; but as the quantity we want is not large and as the purpose to which we shall apply it, is one that will be beneficial to England as well as the U. S., I permit myself to hope that their Lordships of the Privy Council will grant us permission to export in the fall ships bound to America, if not the whole two Hundred Tons of copper, at least a great proportion of that quantity.

I beg the favor of you, Sir, to present this application to their Lordships, and to express to them in my name how much we shall be obliged by the permission requested; without which our Ships must go to sea liable to all the injuries and disadvantages, against which copper bottoms are so effectual securities.

With perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER VI.

Silverhjehm to King—American Vessel runs down a Swedish Cutter—Protest of the latter's Captain—Pickering to King—Commissioners under the 6th Article—Causes of Separation and Comment—Remedy must be by Negotiation—King rents a country Place—King to Lord Elgin, Ambassador to the Porte—Views relative to intended U. S. Mission to Constantinople—To Lord Grenville—President's Proclamation—The Trade with St. Domingo—To E. Benson—Government of France embarrassed—Allies full of Courage—To Secretary of State—Delays in Negotiations—Vessels detained at St. Helena restored—Continental Affairs—English Expedition to Holland started—In Paris, the Directory have shut up the Clubs—Troup to King—Captures of Vessels in the West Indies—Commissioners under 6th Article—Mission to France—General Davie appointed—Gore to King—Work of Commission under 7th Article not to be resumed at Present—Bingham to King — Dissatisfaction with Mission to France, though perhaps the Time opportune—Affairs in United States prosperous, though Yellow Fever has appeared again.

It cannot be a matter of wonder, that the government and people of the United States, while condemning the insults and studied assaults upon their commerce of the French, should be exasperated by the wanton outrages committed by the English upon their seamen and commerce, while they professed friendship and a desire to be at peace, and even to induce the United States to unite with them in the war with France. The correspondence with Mr. King which has been thus far presented shows that he was constantly required, by advices from his government and of his own motion under pressing complaints, to remonstrate with the British government for acts done against the commerce of the United States and in utter disregard of international law, as well as against the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, and

to demand redress in most decided terms for their unfriendly acts.

At one time it is the impressment of seamen in the seaports of England, taking them from out the merchant vessels and even, in one instance, from a man-of-war through the cowardice of her commanding officer, for which they justified their course by various excuses, their right to claim their own subjects, the want of proper papers, etc., but which Mr. King disposes of in his dispatches home by asserting that the necessities of England, in carrying on the war with France, compelled her to use every means to strengthen her navy; and he presses his belief that nothing can be done to put an end to these outrages while the war lasts, and that at present his instructions on this point, though faithfully carried out, will prove fruitless.

At other times, and constantly, he protests against the capture and condemnation of vessels engaged in legitimate commerce, by reckless officers seeking their own emoluments, regardless of the rights of the merchants, and depending upon the colonial Vice-Admiralty courts, with ignorant and possibly corrupt judges, to enable them to escape the penalty of their acts through the wilful misconstruction of the treaty, and delays in making their decisions; and latterly he denounces the inefficient blockade of the Dutch ports, by which, during the absence of the blockading squadron, vessels had no difficulty or restraint in entering what were termed the blockaded ports. It is not necessary to go into a more detailed account of these irritating acts, to show how constantly and vexatiously Mr. King was called upon to demand of the British government interference in putting an end to these outrages and indemnity for the infringement of international law. It was even necessary to charge the inefficiency of the Lord Chancellor Marriott himself, who was compelled to vacate his office.

Unpleasant as the duty of constant remonstrance was, there was always a courtesy of expression in making his claims, and a firmness of tone, which won for him attention

to them, and the respect of those with whom he had to deal, though, as subsequent correspondence would show, not always with success. The complaints continued to be made, demands for redress were earnestly sent in to the king's officers, delays in aggravation of the offences were interposed, and the consequence was that restraints upon the enterprise of our merchants were experienced and justly provoked indignation against the British government, which thus wantonly took advantage of the inability of the United States, at that time, to compel a due regard to its rights as an independent nation.

GEORGE DE SILVERHJEHM TO RUFUS KING.

(*Copy.*)

SIR :

The inclosed official Protest made before a Notary Public will inform you of the particulars relative to the most unaccountable conduct of some American Vessels lately towards a Ship of war of his Swedish Majesty, the *Hawk*, under the command of an officer of the Swedish Navy, Capt. A. G. Von Gerdlen at the time cruising in the British Channel for the protection of some Swedish East Indiamen then expected on their home bound Voyage.

The good understanding subsisting between our respective Governments, their mutual interest in the protection, honour and safety of the Flag the unprovoked and wanton manner in which its rights have been violated in the present instance by several subjects of the United States, will I am perfectly convinced lead you to concur with me in having this matter fully investigated, the guilty punished, indemnity given for the damage sustained by the Swedish cutter, and satisfaction made for this most daring violation of the rights of the Swedish Flag.

I have the honor to be with great Esteem
& Consideration &c, &c,
GEORGE DE SILVERHJEHM.

Protest of Capt. A. G. Von Gerdlen.

By this public Instrument of Protest be it known and made manifest to all persons, that upon Friday the 26th day of July 1799 personally appeared before me John Simpson, Notary Public, residing at Deal in the County of Kent in the Kingdom of Great Britain by lawful authority admitted and sworn Axel George Gerdlen, a Lieutenant in the service of the King of Sweden, and commander of his Swedish Majesty's Cutter of war called The Hok, of the force of twelve Guns, and under cruising Orders, and did through the interpretation of Johan Brunn, of the town and Port of Dover, in the said County of Kent, a Broker, a person to me the said Notary well known and worthy of credit, upon his faith and honesty solemnly declare and for truth affirm and witness as follows, that is to say that the said Cutter being on the 22d instant off Dungeness in the British Channel, with the wind South East, and very thick and hazy weather, about half-past ten o'clock at night, a strange Ship hove in sight, just ahead the cutter, then having her starboard and the Ship her larboard tacks on board, when the ship was immediately hailed from the cutter about off, but this not being taken notice of, the cutter's head was put on Lee in order to clear the Ship, but at the same time the Ship hauled her wind, and seemed determined to run foul of the cutter, which she immediately did, notwithstanding every possible means was used to avoid her, whereby the Ship struck the said Cutter on her Larboard bow abaft the cathead and the Ship's Jib-Boom & Bowsprit became entangled with the Cutter's Stay, and greatly damaged her Jib and Foresail which were thereby rendered useless and were therefore cut away, together with the Rigging thereto belonging, and the mainstay was cut away in order to get the cutter clear from the Ship, but the Ship's anchor having caught hold of the cutter's Shrouds, they were also obliged to be cut away with a great deal of running Rigging, and the whole of the Larboard side of the cutter received a great deal of damage and the Mainyard was broke occasioned altogether by the pressure of the ship on the cutter, having all her sails set, and on sounding the Pumps they found the cutter to make much more water than usual : that during the whole of the time the officers and crew of the Cutter used their best en-

deavours to get clear from the Ship, and at the same time the Ship used all possible means of grapling the Cutter to sink her, by reason that the Cutter was taken to be a French Privateer, notwithstanding the officers and crew on board of her frequently declared they were Swedes ; but the Ship, which has since been discovered to be an American, named the Fair American whereof —— Forster is Master, still pressed upon the Cutter and endeavoured to let their anchor fall on board of her in order to sink her, but which was happily prevented by the Exertions of the Cutter's Crew ; that the Swedish Commission was then shown to Capt. Forster to convince him of the Truth, but he still persisting they were Frenchmen, ordered his People to board the Cutter, which they did armed, notwithstanding the friendly and amicable behaviour of the Cutter's officers and crew, and during which time the said Lieutenant was on board the American Ship, endeavouring to convince the people they were Swedes. That soon after the said Lieutenant returned on board his Cutter, and the Americans returned on board their Ship, and by the great exertions of the Cutter's crew they fortunately got the Cutter clear from the Ship, but instantly the said ship together with two more ships and a brig which were near began to fire into the Cutter, and one shot struck in the Gangway and another between wind and water on the Larboard side, and an armed boat came on board, when again they were told that the Cutter was Swedish, and which they might plainly perceive by their friendly behaviour, and on this being reported, the ships and Brig ceased firing, and a Boat having again come on board the cutter, the Lieutenant went on board the American Brig Unanimity, a letter of Marque, commanded by Captain William Earle, to whom his Commission was shewn, and he was then persuaded that the cutter's crew were Swedes. That he then sent his Boat back with the Lieutenant, who on his return, discovered that six boys and one Boatswain were missing, who had got on board the American Ship, being fearful of the Cutter's sinking, and who have since returned on board the Cutter. That the rigging was repaired as well as circumstances would allow of, and also the Damage sustained in the Hull, but it was found absolutely necessary for the safety of the Cutter to run into the Downs to reinstate her Loss, and to have her damages repaired, and she arrived and came to an anchor

there about 8 o'clock the next morning, and where she now remains. And Therefore the said Lieut Gerdlen doth by these presents make & enter his Protest in due form as well against the wind and sea, and American Ship Fair American, Captain Forster his officers and Crew as also against all and every other Person and Persons whom it doth and may concern. . . .

JOHN SIMPSON,
A Master in Chancery.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

(*Private.*)

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 6, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

At length a final separation of the American Commissioners from the Board sitting here under the 6th Article of the Treaty of Amity with Great Britain, has taken place. During their sittings the following points have been introduced by Mr. Macdonald in long and formal resolutions and adopted by a majority of the Board.

Mr. Pickering then enumerates these positions, and continues:

I have said that doctrines maintained by Mr. Macdonald are of course adopted by Mr. Rich and Mr. Guillemarde; because I understand that they have never, in a single point or circumstance, given or intimated an opinion contrary to his; that if he were acknowledged to possess *infallibility*, there could not be a more uniform and implicit assent to his opinions; they have not even attempted to check and to moderate his petulance, overbearing and rude demeanour. With a different leader, such is the apparent mildness and goodness of their disposition, I should suppose their conduct would also be different. That the two British Commissioners, appointed by that Government should consult and agree on sentiments and resolutions to be proposed to the Board, is perfectly natural; but the fifth Commissioner, the

umpire between the Commissioners of the *two Nations*, should have kept himself aloof ; avoided consulting, or being consulted by either side ; have heard both *publickly* at the Board, and then have given his own opinion. This has not been the conduct of Mr. Guillemarde. Circumstances have occurred which demonstrate a previous consultation. In short every thing has appeared to be prepared and privately agreed to by the *three ;* and when proposed by Mr. Macdonald to the Board, the other two Mr. Rich and Mr. Guillemarde had only to say "Yes." I have not learnt that either of these two ever attempted to argue on a single question.

It was unfortunate that arbitrators could not have been appointed who were divested of all national feelings, on either side. I suppose the idea to be impracticable. As we now disagree on important principles a remedy must be attempted by *negociation.* The materials are prepared and preparing for this purpose ; and by the next Packet I expect will be transmitted to you with the President's Instructions. You too well know the individual characters of the members of the administration to suffer it to be imagined that the interruption in the proceedings of the Board is in any manner to be ascribed to improper views on their part : and I believe you are well enough acquainted with the two American Commissioners to pronounce them incapable of undue bias, or that their opinions have been opposed to the opinions of the other Commissioners on any other ground than their sense of Justice and equity.

T. PICKERING.

Mr. King at this time decided to take a house in the country for the summer season, as the following letter will show. It may be here said that he was fond of the country life, which, after his return to America, he sought and continued to enjoy during the portions of the year when he was not engaged at the seat of government. In his new home at Mill Hill, he experimented in horticultural matters, among which, he often spoke of his endeavor to raise sweet corn, but unsuccessfully, as the climate was too cold.

R. KING TO SAM. J. DAVIS.

BRIGHTON, Aug. 8, 1799.

SIR:

. . . I notwithstanding agree to take your house at Mill Hill upon the terms mentioned in your last letter for one year beginning on the 15th of this month, which is several weeks sooner than I can occupy it. . . . I beg the favor of you to inform me what you have paid the gardener and how much help he has been allowed: if he works with the same alacrity that he talks, he must be an excellent servant. . . .

R. KING TO LORD ELGIN, AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY TO THE PORTE, ETC., ETC.

(*Private.*)

BRIGHTON, Aug. 10, 1799.

MY LORD:

I promised myself the honor, and was much disappointed in not having found an opportunity, of paying my respects to yr. Lord.p before I left town; I had a twofold motive to have done so, that of taking leave of yr. L.p before yr. departure for Constantinople, and of adding a word or two to what had already passed between us, upon the Subject of the intended Mission of the U. S. to Porte. I avail myself of yr. L.p's permission concisely to explain our views in this mission, the Success of which will so materially depend upon the favorable Sentiments, and well earned influence of your Government

It need not be remarked that our remote situation must exclude on the one side as on the other, every idea of political influence; and I can imagine only two motives that can recommend a negotiation between the American & Turkish Governments; the first is the extension of our Trade to Constantinople and its dependencies; and the second, the obtaining of the influence of the Ottoman Government in our favor with the Barbary Regencies, not for the Purpose of negotiating treaties with them, but to preserve those that at great Expence we have already concluded. In respect to our Trade, we naturally desire to place it upon the most advan-

tageous footing, and if we could put it upon the same as that of England, we could have nothing further to desire. According to my information (which however is I fear far from being accurate) with the good will and favor of your Government, it is probable that we should not have much difficulty in the attainment of this principal object of our wishes. The second Point will in some degree follow of course the accomplishment of the first, and in its nature must chiefly depend upon our future intercourse and good understanding with the Turkish Government. Our system is one of strict economy, and from which we shall be unwilling to depart in even a negotiation with the Porte. The customary Expences must be defrayed, and we shall be disposed to reduce and confine them as far as shall be found practicable. Should Mr. Smith arrive while yr. Lp. remains at Constantinople, he will derive essential advantages from yr. Presence and Support, and I persuade myself that you will find in him a most valuable addition to yr. Society among a People, whose thoughts and manners are so very different from ours. With the most sincere wishes for yr. Lp's welfare and for the compleat success of your Embassy, I have the honor to be with the greatest consn. & Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

(*Private.*)

BRIGHTON, Aug. 10, 1799.

MY LORD:

I have been obliged to come here for a short time on account of the ill health of a part of my family. As General Maitland had been in London for several days, I was in hopes that I should have been able to ascertain the result of his late voyage to St. Domingo, before I left town. I have no letters from Col. Pickering of a date so late as to give me any information on this head, but I observe in the American News Papers, a Proclamation by the President, opening after the first day of the present month a trade between the U. S. and two of the Ports of St. Domingo. As I am ignorant whether General Maitland has in concert with Mr. Stevens, our Agent at St. Domingo, concluded an arrangement respecting the Trade to that Island, that is likely to

receive the sanction of your Government, I feel some concern, least from the want of such concert, or from a misunderstanding by yr. naval officers in those seas, of what has been settled by Genl. Maitland, our vessels trading to St. Domingo may be interrupted by your Cruisers. The eagerness with which our Merchants are likely to reengage in this trade, satisfies me that American property to a large amount is already embarked in voyages to that Island, and this consideration will I hope appear to your Lordship a sufficient apology for the liberty I take in inquiring whether Genl. Maitland has concluded an agreement with Toussaint on the Basis of what was before settled between the General and Col. Pickering at Philadelphia.

With the highest consideration &c &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO EGBERT BENSON.

BRIGHTON, Aug. 21, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I have received your letter of the 8. June, with Mr. Liston's Bill in your favor upon the Treasury for the amount of the Moiety of your salary as Fifth Commissioner. . . . I am at a loss what to say to you respecting Politicks. I avail myself of your authority to take back what was written to Sedgwick, tho' it was correct at the time and ought to have encouraged our perseverance. The Duke however has nothing to reproach himself with. The Turks as well as the Austrians being engaged in the war, Russia has become a zealous and most powerful ally of Engd. against France, whose armies are expelled from Italy and according to appearances will soon be called upon to defend their own Territory against the invasion of the allies. The affairs and government of France were never more embarrassed. The allies are full of courage and of hope. Still I do not participate in the confidence so generally entertained that the present campaign will close the war. England is employed in sending a powerful expedition for the deliverance of Holland. A corps of Russians is to cooperate with the English and an extensive revolt and insurrection are expected throughout the Dutch territories. We are told that Russia has been successful in her efforts to engage

Sweden in the coalition. Denmark is at this time hardly pressed towards the same object both by Engd. and Russia ; and the latter has declared war, or will soon do so, against Spain, because she does not withdraw from the peace with France. The Politicks of St. Petersburg, which will not be opposed to England, would divide the whole world into two parties, the friends and enemies of France ; and if the war continues, the question will be brought to this issue.

With great truth and attachment &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 47.

BRIGHTON, Aug. 29, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

The Dispersion of the Members of the Government, as usual at this season, is accompanied with the postponement of all business excepting the most pressing and important. This circumstance joined to the activity with which England negotiates at all the Courts upon the Continent for the purpose of so extending and cementing the coalition against France, will account for the delay we suffer in receiving answers to our various applications.

No further progress is yet made in the negotiation of the article respecting Contraband, nor can I add anything to what I have formerly said concerning St. Domingo. I have again and again pressed the conclusion of the former, and more than once recently, tho' unsuccessfully, inquired respecting the latter.

The cases of the Ships Kensington and Iphigenia (an account of whose detention by the Governor of St. Helena I have before sent you) have been at last decided ; the ships and Cargoes have been restored, and the legality of the trade between Serampore & Denmark allowed. The Ships detained for breach of Blockade, are not yet tried, owing as we are told to the number of older cases. From what has been lately decided with regard to the Danes, Swedes and Prussians under circumstances not very dissimilar, I am not encouraged to expect a favorable issue of these cases.

The News Papers of the 23d instant contain a Report of the Trials of the American Ships Minerva and Nymph, captured by a French Privateer and recaptured by an English Frigate. According to this Report, the Recaptors not content with the Salvage of an Eighth as heretofore, demanded a condemnation in toto upon the absurd doctrine that twenty four hours enemy possession divests the first Owner of his property. The Report makes the Judge decree that the property shall be sold, that an Eighth share immediately be paid to the Recaptors, and the other 8ths vested in the funds to wait a final decision. The Report likewise contains some remarks of the Judge alike unexpected and extraordinary. As these Papers may reach the United States and produce the like sentiments there as they have excited here, I think proper to inform you that these Reports in every exceptionable point are wholly erroneous.—Sir William Scott sent for Mr. Williams to express to him how much he had been hurt by the misrepresentations that had gone abroad concerning these Trials ; and Mr Williams informs me that the demand of a condemnation in toto was made not in right of the recapture, for which service $\frac{1}{8}$ is the customary salvage in the case of a national Ship, but upon the allegation that the whole property is good prize on account of the illegality of the trade, these Ships being engaged when first taken in a voyage from the Spanish Colonies to Old Spain.

Before this reaches you, you will have heard of the safe arrival at Brest of the French and Spanish Fleets. The English, who are mortified and disappointed that the junction has been effected, and that the combined fleet has escaped from the Mediterranean, where they expected to confine them, have reinforced their Channel fleet which is now equal or superior to that of the Enemy at Brest.

Mantua, as well as Alexandria, has capitulated, and at the date of the latest advices, the allies were masters of all Italy, excepting a few Ports in the Roman Territory that cannot be defended, and the Coast of Genoa, upon which the little army of Moreau, united with the Remains of that of MacDonald, still kept possession.

In Switzerland nothing material has lately occurred, the army of Massena, if we believe the French accounts, is superior to that

of the Arch Duke, and may perhaps resume the offensive before the arrival of the Russians.

It is now a fortnight since the first division of the English Expedition against Holland sailed from the Downs; a week ago it was off the Texel, but had not attempted to land. Whether General Abercromby waits for the Russians who are to come thro' the Sound, or for a second division from England we know not, possibly a negotiation is going on between the English and Dutch fleets, and it may be that the English are likely to meet with greater opposition than was expected.

The Struggle which began to appear between the Clubs and the Directory seems to have subsided. At Paris the Club has been shut up by the Directory, which has taken the ascendency with united support of the Councils.

Great efforts are making to complete the new loans, which we are told are attended with much success; at the same time that it is evident, as well from the Messages of the Directory, and debates of the Councils, as from the letters from the armies, that money is extremely scarce, and the finances in the greatest embarrassment.

Partial and premature insurrections have broken out in many of the Departments, without concert or hope of support, and have generally been easily suppressed.

The attack of the allies is imminent, and will be formidable; it remains to be seen with what energy and success it will be resisted.

With perfect Respect and Esteem,

RUFUS KING.

Mr. Gore, who, while the proceedings of the Commission under the 7th Article were suspended, was making a journey through England and Scotland, wrote to Mr. King, from Glasgow, a letter from which the following is an extract:

C. GORE TO R. KING.

GLASGOW, August 31.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . I foresee much delay in our commission and that in addition to the obstacles inherent in the business itself, its further progress must be much influenced & impeded by the general

politics of England, and our awkward relation to the belligerent powers. From what I see in the papers, G. B. will not be very inclined to do more than justice requires towards us or others. I am doomed to pass several months at least in listless inactivity —However, complaining will do no good, my chagrin & mortification may be increased, but cannot be diminished by anything I can do. . . . Trumbull says Anstey informed him that he and his colleagues would not receive permission to cooperate in the execution of our duties until the B. Government had received notice that awards had been made and paid in America. . . .

Yours &c.

C. GORE.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 2d Sept., 1799.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . The late captures in the West Indies by British cruisers are enormous, and a late Judge, who has come to the Bahamas, condemns with the rapacity of a shark every vessel that is brought in; a single contraband article, however trifling in value, is held by the Judge in all cases to be sufficient cause for condemning the whole vessel and cargo. Serious public discontents are arising against the British in consequence; and I do not see how our government can avoid interference.

Our Commissioners under the article of the Treaty respecting British debts have some time since seceded, and the proceedings of the whole board are for the present suspended. I hear that Mr. Rich, one of the B. Commissioners goes home in the packet by which I send this. The construction put upon the Treaty by the British Commissioners, I am well persuaded, will never be submitted to by this country. The confiscated debts are universally by us considered as having been relinquished by the Treaty of Peace. The demand on the part of the British Commissioners excites much ill blood.

Patrick Henry having lately died, the President has nominated General Davie of North Carolina to accompany Chief Justice Ellsworth in the Mission to France. A letter has lately been

received from Talleyrand complying with the President's requisition as to the reception of our ministers. The Chief Justice and General Davie will sail in the course of three or four weeks at farthest. I am told the Chief Justice goes sorely agt. his will. *The whole measure is very nauseous to the friends of the government.* . . .

We again have the yellow fever in the City. Things however are not so bad as last year at this time. The eastern and lower parts of the city are abandoned, and this is assigned as the reason why we have not been so sickly. Philadelphia is worse off than we are. . . .

God bless you

R. T.

WM. BINGHAM TO R. KING.

LANSDOWN, Sept. 2, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

Our Commission will take its Departure for France in the Course of the present Month. You will have heard that the President has appointed Mr. Davie of No. Carolina, in the stead of Patrick Henry, deceased.

The French Directory readily caught at the opening for a new Negotiation, & removed all the Difficulties in its way, by acceding to the preliminary Points, that had been insisted on.

But this Measure is not very popular amongst the best Friends of the Administration—for in the actual Position of our Affairs, having incurred all the essential Expense of protecting our Commerce, & from the present Character of the French Government, when such little Reliance can be placed on its Engagements, it would have been more advisable to have continued the System of armed Neutrality. Besides, if this Attempt should eventuate in a Renewal of the Treaties with France, there will doubtless be found a strong Party in Congress, in favor of disarming; by which, if they should succeed, we shall again expose our Commerce to Insult & Depredation, & lose the Opportunity of establishing a naval Force, which is so essential to the Interests, as well as conducive to the Respectability of the Country.

There never was a period, when the Extent of our Trade &

our Resources drawn from its success, would so fully enable us to support the heavy Establishment of a Navy. The Measure has therefore met with less opposition, than it has usually encountered ; for it has been clearly ascertained, that the Savings in the Premiums of Insurance, will nearly counter ballance the Expences that will attend the operation.

I am afraid our Cabinet will not derive much Credit for a dignified Deportment amongst the Nations of Europe, from this premature Mission to the French Directory : the Measure will certainly be invidious, & may eventually be attended with some serious Consequences.

If the combined Powers continue their Successes, there will be but little difficulty in the Negotiation, and perhaps Experience may have discovered to the French Government the Infatuation of quarreling with neutral Nations, at a time when they are deprived of all means of introducing supplies into their own Country, or of furnishing them to their own Colonies.

A Report prevails that France has ceded Holland to Prussia ; this may effect a great Change in the Destinies of the War ; for it is probably the Price of Prussia's Cooperation, which must have viewed with a jealous Eye the Aggrandizement of Austria, from the Acquisition of Venice, & must have been equally ambitious of becoming a maritime Power. As for the Manner of obtaining them, neither Power would possess many Qualms or Scruples, as the Morality of the States is conveniently regulated by their Interests.

Altho' in general the affairs of our Country are in a very flourishing State, yet we experience a very considerable Drawback both in domestic Happiness & pecuniary Interests, from the continued Attacks of a pestilential Fever, to which our large Cities have been exposed, for several preceding Years ; It has again appeared in New York & Philada, & altho' not so alarming, from being of a less virulent character, has occasioned a general Emigration of the Citizens & all the Expence & Derangement that can arise therefrom.

The electioneering Campaign has been opened very early in the Season & immense exertions have been made by both Parties—the whole Strength of the State will be drawn out, on this occasion. I have little apprehension for the Result, as the federal

Party has gained a great Accession of Strength, by the misconduct of the French. Ross's Interest in the western Counties will enable him to run higher than any other Candidate, we could have nominated.

Yours &c.

WM. BINGHAM.

CHAPTER VII.

Pickering to King—Character of the Commissioners under Article 6, and Points of Disagreement—Desire of the President to do Justice; will propose an explanatory Article—Trumbull to King—Resignation of Sir James Marriott—King to Secretary of State—English landed in Holland—Prussia proposes the Restoration of the Prince of Orange—French Defeats in Switzerland—Want of Union among the Allies—Cabot to King—Feeling against Appointment of Ministers to France; it will probably cause Apprehension in England and Russia—King to Count Rumford, urging him to visit the United States—They have established a Military Academy, and would commit it to his Superintendence—To Secretary of State—Baron Silverhjelm's Letter—Expedition to Holland; Russians join it—To Mr. Hammond—Explanatory Article relative to the 18th Article of the Treaty—Rumford to King; would gladly visit United States and accept the Offer of the Executive Government—His present Engagements prevent this.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Department of State, Sept. 4, 1799.

Dear Sir:

A letter received last evening from Mr. Fitzsimons informed me that Mr. Macdonald * and Mr. Rich, Commissioners appointed by Great Britain under the 6th Article of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, were going to embark for England in the Packet to sail this week from New York. It appears from his letter to have been to him a sudden and unexpected movement. But I do not know that this step, if it could be prevented, should be objected to, because I see no probability that the business of the Board can ever be executed by the present members. Independently of the opinions strongly expressed, which it would not be easy to retract, there appears to me an incompatibility of temper. If I am rightly informed, it would be difficult for any set of American Commissioners to act harmoniously with Mr. Macdonald; unless

* In another he states that Mr. Rich alone went to England.

they possessed such meek and yielding dispositions as to submit implicitly to his dogmas. Such meekness is in his colleagues, Mr. Rich and Mr. Guillemarde, who tho' they appear, and I verily believe them, to be worthy men, have not in a single instance, dissented from Mr. Macdonald, or started an objection to anything he has advanced; so that it would be perfectly equal, as to the final issue of their proceedings, whether they continued members of the Board, or that Mr. Macdonald were authorized, on every question, to give three votes. . . . If I am rightly informed Mr. Macdonald is not only thus predominant, but that towards the *American* Commissioners he has been in the highest degree overbearing and arrogant; and not very delicate towards our Country.

I think it fortunate that you are acquainted with the individual characters of the American Commissioners; you know all the members of the Executive Government, except the Secretary of the Navy; and you know the members of the two Houses of Congress, of leading influence in the measures of the U. S.; and you know that all these, besides detesting every species of fraud and evasion, and that above all things they are ambitious of maintaining the character of unblemished integrity and good faith, are particularly desirous of completely executing what they so indefatigably laboured to establish, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and Great Britain. Here is a pledge on which Great Britain may rely. But the Commissioners differ essentially in the construction of the Treaty. The points of difference must then become the subjects of further negociation between the two Governments.

These points have been laid before the President by the Attorney General; the American Commissioners will do it more fully; and the result will undoubtedly be an Instruction to you to confer with the British Ministers, and agree in an explanatory article which may be satisfactory to both Countries.

In a subsequent letter, Nov. 7, 1799, Mr. Pickering says:

"As soon as the President comes to town, he will determine on the Instructions to be given to you concerning the different interpretations by the American and British Commissioners of the 6th

article. . . . The desire of the President to do perfect justice to British Creditors will certainly dispose him to admit every principle which that article was intended to comprehend, and I cannot doubt but that you will be able speedily to settle with the British Ministers such rules as shall be necessary to a recommencement of the investigation of those claims."

On the 31st of December, 1799, Mr. Pickering in his official letter says:

"That the President has determined to propose that the true interpretation of that article (the 6th) should be settled by such a mutual and friendly explanation as will give full effect to the just engagements which were thereby formed on the part of the United States."

He notifies Mr. K., that he will receive the necessary papers "containing every thing essential to be known"; and at the same time a statement of "the principles proper to form the basis of an Article or Articles explanatory of the 6th Article . . . and for facilitating its due execution." Mr. P. continues.

"I have further to inform you that Mr. Sitgreaves having as one of the Commissioners, assiduously and thoroughly investigated this subject; and thereby acquired an accurate knowledge of every question to be discussed between you and the British Government, the President has thought it expedient that he should go to London to facilitate your researches and render you every assistance which his intimate acquaintance with the business will enable him to give. It is also apprehended that you may derive much useful information from Mr. Sitgreaves relative to transactions in the Board, which the written documents either do not contain or will not suggest; and finally that by this measure the conclusion of the negotiations may be *expedited*; For altho' Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Rich and Mr. Guillemarde in their letter of the 14th of August to Mr. Fitzsimons and Mr. Sitgreaves, as plainly as indecorously, insinuated that the latter seceded from the Board for the purpose of delaying payments by the United States, you

will know that nothing can be more unfounded than this imputation. The President is anxious to have the expected explanations speedily agreed on, that the business of the Boards in London and Philadelphia may be resumed. There is not any branch of the Government, nor within my knowledge an individual officer, who would not view with disdain the insinuation above mentioned. But the disposition and opinions predominating with the Commissioners from Great Britain are utterly incompatible with harmony in the proceedings, and, as we conceive, with justice and equity in the adjustment of British claims. Besides, the personalities which have taken place between the members rendering any future cordiality between them hopeless, show the dissolution of the present Board to be indispensable.

J. TRUMBULL TO R. KING, MARGATE.

LONDON, Sept. 5th, 1799.

DEAR SIR,

I have this moment had a visit from a Gentleman whose information may be relied upon to tell me that St. James Marriott has this morning made a proposition to Government, to quit his present situation on condition of certain terms which he has named. These I understand to be rather high, and such as the Government may hesitate to comply with. As therefore it is of vast importance to neutral nations (and to none more than to us) that he should be replaced by a more efficient man, and as the representation to this purpose of some of the Ministers of Neutral powers, coinciding at this time with his proposal of retirement, would probably decide Government to comply with his offers, it is suggested to you, whether this is not an occasion worth the trouble of a ride to town. The moment is the more important from the strange temper of the man which may induce him, if there should be much hesitation on the part of the Government, to fly from his proposed terms and resolve to die in his chair.

If it should appear to you as important as I confess it does to me, and you should determine to come to town (which it will be best to do immediately) I will wait on you as soon as you let me know your arrival, for the purpose of saying more than is proper

to say here, and of communicating to you my authority from whom personally you may receive further useful information. . .

Most truly yours,

JNO. TRUMBULL.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 48.

LONDON, Sept. 5, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

The first division of the English of 10,000 men under General Abercrombie has made good its landing upon the mainland on the right of the entrance of the Texel : the descent was vigorously opposed and cost the English between 400 and 500 men killed and wounded. The fort of the Helder as well as the Texel Island soon submitted, and a division of the English fleet having without molestation entered the Texel and summoned the Dutch fleet, the whole of it consisting of nearly thirty sail of which eight or ten are of the line, under the command of Admiral Story, surrendered to the English in trust for the Stadtholder. The second division of English troops arrived and landed the day after the landing of the first, and we hear that 5000 Russians have joined them. These Corps will be immediately followed by the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York, with 12,000 more English Troops, and a further body of 10,000 Russians. It was expected that Sweden would have co-operated with 8000 troops in the pay of England, but the subsidy demanded was so high, having regard to that paid to Russia, that England refused to give it. Unless the information from Holland is extremely erroneous, the disaffection to the present Government is general thro' all the Provinces : the Dutch army cannot be depended upon by the Directory, and great numbers of the Inhabitants are proposed to join with the allies in the effort to drive out the French and restore the Prince of Orange.

A most extraordinary change was on the point of taking place a few weeks ago in the Politicks of Prussia : the English and Russian Ambassadors were suddenly sent for to concert with Prussia a Treaty for the purpose of effecting by force the reinstatement of the Prince of Orange. The negotiation proceeded

with the greatest rapidity, and Mr. Grenville was so confident of its immediate and successful conclusion, that his dispatch stated that he should probably sign the Treaty before a return Courier could arrive from England. The day after the date of this dispatch, the Russian Minister informed the English and Russian Ambassadors that the King had just received such advices from Paris, as authorized the expectation that the restoration of the Prince of Orange could be effected by negotiation and that under these circumstances the conclusion of the proposed Treaty must be postponed. This versatility has excited the greatest dissatisfaction; the Prussian Envoy has in consequence thereof been ordered to leave St. Petersburgh, and no one would be astonished should this order be followed by a Declaration of war. Since the surrender of the Dutch fleet, the North Sea Squadron employed in the Blockade of the Texel has returned to Yarmouth, to which place the Dutch Fleet will probably follow it.

The combined Fleet still remains at Brest; it is represented to be ill-manned, and otherwise in no condition to meet the superior English fleet now in the Channel.

The Rumour gains credit, tho' not confirmed, of a great battle between Suwarrow and Joubert, Moreau's successor in the command of the army of Italy; in which Joubert is reported to have been beaten and killed. The French Papers give an account of late actions in Switzerland to the disadvantage of the Austrians; and there is considerable anxiety concerning the Army of the Arch Duke; but unless he has suffered great disasters, the arrival of the Russians must give him most decided superiority.

Those who know nothing of Cabinet secrets are nevertheless able to see that there is a manifest want of union, as well as of confidence in the news of the allies; Russia and *England* prefer to act disinterestedly and to desire the integrity and restoration of the Subverted Governments; Austria on the other hand has organized a provisional Government over her late conquests in Italy, including therein Tuscany as well as Piedmont; and it is said that the old magistrates and Government are not restored in those Cantons of Switzerland from which the French have been driven out.

Denmark, tho' hardly pressed, still declines entering into the Coalition. Russia has declared war against Spain.

We hear nothing from you respecting the Commission at Philadelphia; here the Commissioners are still suspended.

With great Esteem & Respect, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

Sep. 7, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Before this reaches you the Newspapers will have announced the appointment of Mr. Davie of N. Carolina to fill the vacant commission of P. Henry. The Aurora has assured us that the New Envoys will sail in this month & I have no doubt the President has given orders for that purpose—the Aurora tells lies when lies will do mischief but it will faithfully relate the truth when the truth is most favorable to its views. Our good men all have been incredulous; they would not admit it possible that the President shou'd persist in a measure so flagrantly inconsistent with the general policy, with his own uniform declared sentiments & with the well known opinions feelings & wishes of *all* the best friends of the Country including $\frac{9}{10}$ths of his *personal* friends. I have not scrupled to express freely my abhorrence of the measure as capable of doing us no good in any way but of exposing us to the most serious inconveniences without necessity & without apology. Every one I meet expresses an apprehension that the jealousy & perhaps the resentment of the coalesced powers will be excited to a degree that will produce new irritations & increase the difficulty of adjusting the old differences: my first wish is to see the demolition of the cursed system of France, but I begin to see plainly that we may become obnoxious to her enemies. England & Russia cannot feel complacent toward us when they see us *officiously* tendering our friendship to those whom we detest, whom we know to be as inimical to us as to them, & whose humiliation is the effect of their valour. They will charge us with basely trafficking *for their blood*, which has purchased for us the security, tranquility & prosperity we enjoy.

Sentiments like these will be natural & will enkindle anger if those powers are unsuccessful, & insolence if successful. While I place the greatest reliance on your discerning all the means by which such embarrassments may be alleviated or prevented, I am

sensible you cannot be expected to use them with success if there is not a coincidence of Executive policy. Many sensible men expect that the British Govt will be so well informed of the *true state* of our politicks as to lay no stress on the New Embassy, justly considering it as the unadvised & capricious movement of a Simple Individual, & that it will produce no consequences because it is known to be contrary to the general wish of the Country who wish sincerely to avoid all intercourse with France during the continuance of her present system.

Your affte & unfeigned friend

G. C.

R. KING TO COLONEL MCHENRY.

LONDON, Sept. 7, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I have duly received your letter of the 3rd. of July respecting Count Rumford. We have had some conversation upon the Subject which will be resumed. I however conclude from what has already passed that tho' much gratified with the offer, he will wisely decline accepting. I shall hereafter send you a more exact report upon this subject.

The Count's letter to you accompanying the Models of the Field Piece and ammunition Waggons was written and sent before he had any knowledge of the subject of your Letter of the 3rd. of July. I hope we shall not be disappointed in sending you the Boxes which contain these Models by the General Washington, a stout ship now ready to sail for Philadelphia.*

With sincere Respect & Esteem &c, &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COUNT RUMFORD.

LONDON, Sept. 8, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I have more than once expressed to you a wish that you might find leisure as well as inclination to visit your native country where I have been persuaded that you will meet with a friendly and cordial reception, and by your presence and advice might be

* The models mentioned had been presented by the Count to the U. S. Government.

of great advantage to our public Institutions, the establishment of which upon approved principles is an object of the highest consequence. I am happy that it is in my power to assure you, that I have not been mistaken in these sentiments, and it affords me peculiar satisfaction to execute the orders that I have lately received from my Government to invite you in its name to return and reside among us, and to propose to you to enter into the American Service.

In the course of the last year we have made provision for the Institution of a Military Academy, and we wish to commit its formation to your Experience, and its future Government to your care. It is not necessary on this occasion to send you a detailed account of our necessary military establishment, which indeed would be best explained by a reference to the Laws upon which it depends. These are in my possession and shall be put into your hands, if you desire it. In addition to the Superintendance of the Military Academy, I am authorized to offer to you the appointment of Inspector General of the Artillery of the United States; and we shall moreover be disposed to give to you such rank and emoluments, consistent with existing Provisions, and with what has already been settled upon the former of these Heads, as would be likely to afford you satisfaction and to secure to us the advantage of your services.

If your engagements will allow of your entering into our Service, which I sincerely hope may be the case, I will ask the favor of you to take an early opportunity of signifying the same to me, in order that we may proceed to further and more particular explanations upon the Subject.

With the greatest consideration,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 52.

LONDON, Sep. 11, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

Herewith * I send you Copies of a Letter that I lately received from Baron Silverhjelm, the Swedish Chargé d'affaires at this

* See page 80 of this volume.

Court and of my answer. I find upon Enquiry that the American Ships against which this complaint is exhibited, were going down the channel on their passage to the Ud. States, where they have probably arrived.

No Event of importance has occurred in Holland since the surrender of the Dutch fleet. The Duke of York has departed with large Reinforcements to take command. The first division of the Russians who were at Yarmouth a few days ago have by this time joined the English, and other divisions are hourly expected. We have no accounts of any considerable Risings among the Dutch in favor of the allies. Probably they will wait until they can form a more accurate opinion than they as yet can do of the probable Result of the Invasion.

The News Papers will give you the Details of the last Battle in Italy, and of what at the same time occurred in Switzerland.

Parliament are unexpectedly to meet on the 24th. instant. It is conjectured that this has become necessary in order to authorize the Enlistment of a greater body of Militia than the existing Laws permit. Prussia has peremptorily refused her aid in favor of the Stadtholder & England must supply, if she can, what she expected from that quarter.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c &c

RUFUS KING.

COUNT RUMFORD TO R. KING.

BROMPTON, Sept. 12, 1799.

DR SIR :

I am to acknowledge the rect. of your Excellency's most flattering Letter of the 8th inst, the perusal of which has filled my mind with sentiments much more easy to be conceived than expressed. I am deeply sensible of the honor that has been conferred upon me by the Govt of the U. States, by the kind invitation they have sent me to come & reside in my native Country, and also by the other distinguished and most flattering proofs of their confidence and esteem with which that invitation has been accompanied.

Nothing could have afforded me so much satisfaction as to have had it in my power to have given to my liberal and generous countrymen such proofs of my sentiments as would in the most

public and ostensible manner have evinced not only my gratitude for the kind attentions I have received from them, but also the ardent desire I feel to assist in promoting the prosperity of my native Country ; but my Engagements, which great obligations have rendered sacred and inviolable, put it out of my power to dispose of my time and services with that unreserved freedom which would be necessary in order to enable me to accept of those generous offers, which the Executive Govt. of the U. States has been pleased to propose to me. But tho' it is not in my power to dissolve those ties by which I am bound, yet I have no doubt of being able to obtain Permission to visit America ; & should that permission be granted, I shall take an early opportunity of crossing the Atlantic in order to pay my personal respects to the President of the United States and to return him my thanks for the distinguished honor he has been pleased to confer on me.

I cannot finish this letter without requesting that you, Sir, would accept my best acknowledgments for the many civilities I have received from you and more especially for the very polite manner in which you have been so good as to communicate to me the favorable sentiments of the Govt. of the U. States with respect to me.

With the sincere wishes for the Prosperity of the U. States, I have the honor to be, Sir, &c, &c.

RUMFORD.

His Excellcy RUFUS KING.

COUNT RUMFORD TO R. KING.

BROMPTON, Friday Sept. 13, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR :

It was my intention to have called on you this morning to thank you in person for your very obliging & most flattering letter, and to have consulted with you respecting the answer which it would be proper for me to give to it : but the weather turns out so bad, that I am afraid in the present state of my health to go abroad. . . . With the most sincere regard & much gratitude for all your kindnesses, I am &c.

Most faithfully & affectionately yours,

RUMFORD.

R. King to Mr. Hammond.

Mr. King presents his compts. to Mr. Hammond and according to his Request takes the liberty to send him enclosed the Draft of the proposed additional article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between the United States and G. Britain, which Mr. King is more and more anxious on account of the continued interruption of the American Trade should be concluded with the least possible delay.

Grt. Cumbd. Place, 14th Sep., 1799.

Geo. Hammond, Esq.

Explanatory Article to be Added to the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation Between His Britannic Majesty and the U. S. of America.

Whereas by the 28th article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, signed at London on the 19th day of November 1794, it was agreed that the contracting Parties, from time to time would readily treat of and concerning such further Articles as might be proposed, and that such Articles, after having been duly ratified, should be added to and made a part of that Treaty.

And whereas Doubts have existed whether according to the just interpretation of the 18th Article of the said Treaty, the Goods and Merchandize hereinafter mentioned might not be considered as included within its Provisions, and treated as Contraband of war.

And as it is expedient that the Doubts aforesaid should without delay be removed, the undersigned being respectively named by his Britannic Majesty and the U. S. of America, their Plenipotentiaries for the purpose of treating of and concluding such articles as may be proper to be added to the said Treaty, in pursuance of the above mentioned stipulation, and having communicated to each other their respective full Powers have agreed and concluded and do hereby declare that Iron in flat and square Bars, Iron nails of less than four inches in length, Osnaburghs, Ticklenburghs, Russia sheeting, and all other Cloth made of Hemp, or flax, and not generally and chiefly used for the Sails of Ships, are excepted from, and not included within the Provisions of the said 18th

Article ; and that none of the said Goods and Merchandize shall be considered or treated as contraband of war.

This explanatory Article when the same shall have been ratified by his BritannicMajesty and by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of their Senate, and the respective Ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be added to and make a part of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between his Britannic Majesty & the U. S. of America, signed at London on the 19th day of Nov. 1794, and shall be permanently binding upon his Majesty and the United States, and upon their respective Subjects & Citizens. In witness whereof, &c. &c.

COUNT RUMFORD TO R. KING.

BROMPTON, 14 Sept., 1799.

MY DEAR SIR :

I should consider it as a particular favor, if you would be so kind as to look over the inclosed Paper & make such alterations as you think would be proper.

You will easily believe that I must be uncommonly anxious that my answer to your kind letter of the 8th instant should be such as to meet with the entire approbation of all reasonable Persons.

I am, dear Sir, with unfeigned Esteem & Attachment most faithfully yours.

RUMFORD.

R. KING TO COUNT RUMFORD.

MILL HILL, Sept. 15, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

I have received your obliging note of the 12th with the Draft of a letter that you propose to write in answer to mine of the 8th.

With the exception of the decision that your engagements have obliged you to make, I see nothing to correct in the proposed Draft, which I return inclosed with the assurance of the sincere attachment & Esteem of

Dr Sir yr. faithful Servt.

R. K.

CHAPTER VIII.

King to Lord Grenville—Impressment of an American Sailor in Lisbon by the *Mermaid*—Outrages against American Citizens in Jamaica by British Officers—Strong Demands for Redress—Cabot to King—The President persists in sending the Envoys—Earnest Efforts to prevent it—Thinks of the Difficulties to King in Consequence in England—Hale to King—Anxiety caused by the President's Policy towards France—Pleased that King is in England at this Time—Cabot to King—The President's Course reprobated—King to Lord Grenville—Argument against the Impressment of Seamen and other international Questions—Injurious Acts of Sir Hyde Parker—Earnest Appeal to Lord Grenville.

R. King to Lord Grenville.

Great Cumberland Place, Sept. 14, 1799.

My Lord:

It is my duty to transmit to your Lordship the enclosed evidence of the injurious conduct of R. D. Oliver, Esq., Commander of His Majesty's Ship of war, the Mermaid, in the impressment & detention in the Port of Lisbon of John Johnson, a seaman belonging to the American private armed ship the Samuel Smith.

John Johnson, by birth German, regularly entered within the United States on board the Samuel Smith, and engaged to proceed in her to Lisbon & from thence to some part in Asia & back to the United States. On the arrival of the ship at Lisbon, Johnson being sick was sent by his Commander to the Portuguese hospital where he soon recovered, and in his return to his Duty on board the Samuel Smith, was seized by a Press Gang, understood to be in the pay of the British Navy Commissioner at Lisbon, and carried on board the Mermaid, whose Commander sent him in his boat accompanied by an officer on board the Samuel Smith to demand his clothes, where the Commander of the Samuel

Smith, as he had an undoubted right to do, detained him as one of his crew.

The Commander of the Mermaid demanded him and threatened to employ force in case of refusal. This failing to accomplish his views, the Commander of the Mermaid suggested to the American Consul at Lisbon, as an expedient by which the Disagreement might be satisfactorily settled, that Johnson should be sent on board the Mermaid and that on the application of the Consul he would immediately return him on board the Samuel Smith. Upon the recommendation of the Consul, strengthened by that of the American Minister at the Court of Lisbon, the Commander of the Samuel Smith consented to the Proposal. Johnson was accordingly sent on board the Mermaid, and his return, as had been agreed, was demanded by the Consul; but Captain Oliver, the Commander of the Mermaid, refused to return him on the evasive Pretence that Johnson preferred to remain on board the Mermaid.

The injury done to our Navigation in this violation of its Rights is too manifest to demand a farther elucidation, and I flatter myself through your Lordship's interference it will receive a prompt and adequate satisfaction. For the rest I permit myself to remark that Faith and Confidence are necessary to support the mutually beneficial intercourse that subsists between friendly nations, and I am not at liberty to doubt that his Majesty's Government will on all occasions animadvert in a suitable and effectual manner upon those who by acting under color of his Majesty's authority in violation of these salutary principles shall expose to discredit a service they are bound in duty to render respectable.

With perfect Consideration & Respect, &c, &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Sept. 16, 1799.

MY LORD:

I have received the orders of the President of the United States of America to represent to the Government of his Britannic Majesty the Injury done to the said United States in the

violence and cruelty lately committed in the Island of Jamaica by Lieutenant Harris (?) & certain other officers of his Majesty's Ship of war, the Brunswick, upon the Persons of Eliphalet Lord, John Edes, and Richard Carter, citizens of the said States and then engaged in the prosecution of their lawful commerce. The circumstances of this extraordinary affair are fully detailed in the authentic Proofs that have been transmitted to me by my Government which accompany this Representation. They are such as unfortunately leave no room to doubt the enormity of the offence; for what greater offence can be offered by one nation to another than the seizure of their citizens in order to degrade and disgrace them with stripes ?

I suppress the Reflections that so naturally suggest themselves on this occasion, in the full conviction that the temperate, though very grave, complaint that I am ordered to present will on this occasion engage your Lordship's decided interference in order that Lieutenant Harris & his associates in addition to his Majesty's Displeasure may receive the Punishment due to those, who suffer themselves to become the deliberate and guilty disturbers of the repose of nations.

With perfect Consideration and Respect, &c., &c.

R. KING.

GEO. CABOT TO R. KING.

Sept. 23, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR :

It has been determined long since by the President that the New Envoys shou'd sail early in Oct. Infinite pains have been taken to prevent this indiscreet & impolitic step, & as a last effort a memorial from the heads of Depts shewing the inexpediency of the measure was transmitted to the President last week, the effect of which is unknown. Shou'd he retract now, much of the mischief wou'd be unrepaired; the ill impression on the allied powers wou'd remain & the motives for our change wou'd be not duly appreciated. Meanwhile our friend Ellsworth is in great distress & finds himself in toils from which he cannot escape : his early concern to meliorate & palliate what he cou'd not altogether prevent being done, led him to suffer his name to be used, vainly

trusting that the business wou'd afterward be got rid of. He thinks he cannot now withdraw without dishonor, & the Federalists rely upon his going to guard against the worst consequences. Shou'd the President be induced to give up his projected negotiations (of which I have no great expectation) there will then be a little time in which attempts may be made by some frank & friendly explanations to remove the jealousies he entertains of every supporter of Govt—jealousies which are as unfounded as they are ruinous to our affairs. But who is to be the friendly Monitor that shall render this great service to our Country I know not. I have long sought in vain to find the man who cou'd do it properly, but they are all suspected persons. You may think that *I ought* to perform this task. I have been solicited by Great Men out of the Govt. as well as some that are in ; I needed no persuasion. I made an early visit for the sole purpose of reconciling the P. to his *real* friends &, what might have been more difficult, *to himself*. I was treated with great kindness & hospitality, but every heart was locked & every tongue was *silenced* upon all topics that bore affinity to those which I wished to touch. Mr. & Mrs. A. were the only persons present a part of the time, & for a little while only the latter. Our friend Judge Dana, who is an host himself & who has made immense exertions of the best kind in our political field for several years, partakes greatly of the present anxiety, but he too is distanced & can not be heard. Ellsworth has done all in his power without success & goes on the unpropitious errand against his will & inclination, only hoping by his fortitude & attention to mitigate its evils.

Amidst all our crosses & perplexities I think of the difficulties which must be created by them for you, & tho' I am sure you will do every thing which can be done to preserve good humour between the two Countries yet I cannot but fear your failure at last ; the increasing power of G. B. & the decline of that of France will weaken the motives of the former to sacrifice anything to the God of peace. Our immense commerce is a tempting object to those whose armed ships cover the seas and cou'd so easily make them a prey. I am persuaded however that it wou'd be a false calculation for the interest of England ; after the annihilation of our commerce we shou'd become formidable to a Nation whose prop-

erty wou'd then be immense on the Sea & whose desires must be for peace. We shou'd be then at sea as predatory as the french have been on land. We must be active & shall certainly fight for money if we are not left to the safe pursuits of industry. It cannot be supposed that such a state of things wou'd not greatly injure the Colonial property, & produce some considerable inconvenience to trade & manufactures at home: it wou'd be doubtless a great calamity to this country to get into a war with England, but we shou'd soon recover from it; it wou'd be more tolerable to them while it lasted but its ill consequences wou'd be much more durable.

God bless you!

JOSEPH HALE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Sept. 30, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The general aspect of our interiour is pleasant, so far at least as regards a perfect submission to, & apparent acquiescence in, the laws of the Union. Our infant navy is daily acquiring new strength. The regiments to be raised will probably be filled & completely organized this autumn. But the inscrutable policy of our government as relates to France, with the independent insulated attitude of a certain great man amongst us, excites anxiety in the breasts of all reflecting men for the great interests of our nation. Considering the past conduct of France toward us & her present convulsive state, it is difficult to account for the policy which dictates amicable approaches on our part. Viewed as relates to the combined powers, the solution becomes more perplexing. The duties of your station hitherto would have discouraged any man of ordinary stamp. The additional embarrassments you may have to contend with from the present singular position of the European world, our relation to it, & their misapprehension of the state of our Country, or other causes, lead us all to repose with confidence on your tried talents & virtues. We shoud deem it a great public misfortune were you to withdraw from a station the increase of whose duties renders the actual Minister the most qualified of any other to discharge them. Few indeed are the men to whom I should thus dare to express myself. A mean spirit

of adulation is as much despised by me as I am ready to pay a just tribute to acknowledged worth. It has unfortunately been too much the practise of our country to disregard in her policy the peculiar delicate situation of her Ministers at foreign courts. A perseverance in that course, it is to be feared, will sooner or later deprive us of the services of men of merit in those important offices & compel us to rely on inexperience or intrigue to fill them.

So important to the interests of both countries is a good understanding between G. B. & the United States, that we hope the former will not be induced by partial consideration to pursue a policy tending to interrupt it. The extensive capture of our vessels in the West Indies, the admiralty construction relative to Blockades & the special considerations of Sir Wm Scott in his able decree upon the Swedish convoy, have created a jealousy & excited an alarm in the minds of respectable men amongst us, which if not removed may put in jeopardy the great concerns of both nations. It is hoped G. Britain will not sully the great reputation she has acquired, by wickedly adopting the outrageous conduct against Neutrals which she has been foremost in reprobating when assumed by France.

As to the state of Mass. Gill is aiming at the chair. His *military* talents have prompted him to review the militia throughout the state. It is thought he will not succeed in his wishes. Judge Dana is at present the candidate most spoken of; but not most appreciated by all.

Your most obed. Servt.

Joseph Hale.

G. Cabot to R. King.

Sunday, Oct. 6, 1799.

My Dear Sir:

Last monday the President set off for Trenton, his departure was unexpected & was scarcely known until he had performed half his journey; this sudden movement may have been occasioned by the memorial of the heads of Depts which I informed you in my last had been sent to dissuade him from sending Envoys to France. It is this day announced to me as a public re-

port that the Mission is suspended. I hope & believe it is so, but how much happier shou'd I have been if it had never been projected! At any rate it gives another chance for the President to recover himself & to recover his old friends, *the true friends of the Country*, if he desires it, which I cannot but hope. A little time will unfold his views & discover whether he persists in the pitiful politicks of Gerry or relinquishes them; it is very certain that for these 12 months past all temporizing feeble politicks have been reprobated by $\frac{9}{10}$ths of the good Federalists & by a good majority of the people. I am sure the nomination of the Envoys has given great uneasiness to most of our thinking men. They have not seen how any good cou'd come of it & they have apprehended much evil, they have been reserved however in expressing their sentiments from a reluctance to wound the feelings of the President or to indulge a spirit of discontent which they condemn in others. For my own part I doubted what course shou'd be pursued; at the request of a few of our friends I wrote half a dozen short papers for the press, but finally did not publish them. I feared they might irritate & prevent conciliation. As I know how solicitous you must be to be well informed of whatever passes in our political hemisphere I often wish to pass an evening with you to tell you all I know & all I think; as this cannot be, I sometimes have resolved to write you the most copious details of our domestic politicks; but the labor discourages me, you know my insuperable love of ease & therefore will never expect an equivalent return for the many valuable letters with which you have obliged me.

Col Morton on a visit here from New York informs me our friend Hamilton manages with his usual superiority of skill the difficult affairs of the Army. Genl. Pinckney is at Newport & is coming to Boston; I shall testify my esteem of his worth by breaking from my Hermitage to visit him.

Yours aff'y & faithfully

I have read with great pleasure Sir Wm. Scott's adjudication in the case of the Swedish Convoy.

R. King to Lord Grenville.

Gt. Cumb'd. Place, Oct. 7, 1799.

My Lord:

The peculiar circumstances of two nations whose language & manners are the same, & whose maritime œconomy does not differ, but between which a distinction exists, arising from the practice of impressing seamen in one country, but not in the other, has given birth to a case of great importance, and one that requires the establishment of special regulations for the security of their most precious Rights.

A concise view of the present state of the navigation & of the interfering claims in respect to the seamen of the U. States & G. Britain will shew the importance of this subject, as well as the impolicy of suffering slight objections to stand in the way of a serious effort to arrive at a satisfactory agreement respecting it.

The mercantile tonnage of G. Britain is estimated at one million six hundred thousand tons, & that of the U. States at nine hundred thousand. Whatever may be the number of seamen employed, they may respectively be taken to be in the proportion of nine to sixteen; so that of every twenty five seamen in the civil employ of the two countries, nine are in the American service and sixteen in the British.

Each nation desires the service of all its own seamen, and each without the interference of the other is free to employ those of any third power. No seaman is at present employed in the public ships of war, in the coasting trade, the fisheries, or merchant service of the U. States except upon his voluntary engagement. This is likewise the case in the coasting trade, the fisheries, & the merchant service of G. Britain, but not in the Navy, into which service all British seamen, not specially exempted, are liable to be impressed.

In the U. States no alien can be naturalized, who has not resided fourteen years within their territory, a term nearly equal to the average life of a seaman; in G. Britain, every alien who has served two years during the war on board a British merchantman, privateer, or man of war is thereby ipso facto naturalized (13 Geo. 2, Cap. 3).

The United States naturalize aliens, and do not contest the same right with other states; G. Britain naturalizes aliens but effec-

tively denies this right to other states by reclaiming her subjects and using force to seize them, notwithstanding such naturalization.

G. Britain refuses to restore American Citizens upon the demand of the United States when such Citizens have been naturalized, have voluntarily entered the navy, or married, or settled within the British dominions ; at the same time that she denies the sufficiency of all these reasons when preferred in favor of a British subject in the service of the United States.

G. Britain considers her flag to be a protection to those who sail under it ; the United States in like manner ascribe the same protection to the like emblem of their sovereignty ; but the naval officers of G. Britain visit on the main ocean the American merchant ships for the purpose of examining their crews, & of impressing such and as many of them as they are pleased to determine and pronounce not to be American Citizens.

G. Britain relying on the protection of her flag gives no certificate of citizenship to seamen employed in any branch of her service ; but denying that the like protection is afforded by the American flag, she requires of the seamen sailing under it proof of their citizenship, the validity of which is often contested & sometimes totally disregarded, tho' possessing the form prescribed by the Laws of the Ud. States. Her officers even go further, and impress from the American service into that of G. Britain persons who are confessedly neither English nor American.

The Treaty of amity, Commerce & Navigation between the United States and G. Britain provides for a free trade & intercourse between the two countries, and mutually pledges the public faith in the security of those engagements in the same ; but the American seamen, who resort to the British ports are notwithstanding liable to be, & are, daily impressed into the British service.

By the same treaty each nation grants to the other the privilege of sending Consuls to reside in their respective dominions, who are there to enjoy all the rights belonging to them by the Laws of Nations. According to this law, Consuls in certain cases administer oaths, and grant certificates of citizenship ; those of the United States within the British dominion, have notwithstanding been forbidden to administer oaths in any case, or to grant

certificates of Citizenship to American seamen, altho' such certificates are & immemorially have been, granted by the Consuls of other Nations, residing in G. Britain, and altho' the Consuls of G. Britain do in fact administer oaths in foreign countries, and those residing within the United States are moreover authorized (28, Geo. 3, cap. 68) and required in certain cases to administer oaths as well to the citizens of the United States as to British Subjects.

The great embarrassment of the American commerce proceeding from this fruitful source of disagreement, joined to the cases of complaint preferred to the American Govt. by its citizens, whose friends and relations have been impressed into the British service, induced the President of the U. States to adopt the expedient of sending agents to England and to the British Islands in the West Indies for the relief and protection of American seamen.

Your Lordship will doubtless recollect the arrangement agreed upon for the establishment of a direct correspondence upon this subject between Majr. Lenox, the agent sent to England & Mr. Nepean, the Secretary of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. Considerable advantage to our seamen has arisen from this agency, and it would be uncandid not to allow that Mr. Nepean has given great attention to the numerous applications of Majr. Lenox & that a disposition has existed to comply with our demands, when the same could be done consistently with the maxims & practice adopted and adhered to by G. Britain. Col. Talbot, the agent sent to the West Indies addressed himself on his arrival in the most respectful manner to Adm. Sir Hyde Parker, the Commander in Chief of the British fleet in those seas, to whom he made known the object of his appointment, with expectation of being able to concert with him an equitable and convenient plan, by which upon his application, the American seamen impressed into the British service might be restored to their own country.

The reception experienced by Col. Talbot was in every sense discouraging, and his application to the admiral & to the commanders of the ships under his command failing to succeed, he applied to the Tribunals of Justice in Jamaica, which by their writs of habeas corpus liberated several mariners, detained on

board the British fleet & tho' attended with great expense, the whole number, or the greater part of them in this way wd. probably have been discharged, had not Sir. Hyde Parker refused and given orders to his officers to refuse obedience to the process of the King's Tribunals. Perceiving that he was not able through the Tribunals of Justice, or an application to the Admiral, supported by proofs that had been pronounced satisfactory by the Court of Law, to procure the further release of our seamen from the fleet commanded by Adml. Parker, Col. Talbot was ordered to return home with the hope, notwithstanding his failure, that a sense of common justice due from one nation to another, would restrain the future impressment of our citizens. But instead of greater moderation in this respect, which Policy as well as Justice at this juncture seemed to recommend, the vexations of our seamen increased in the American seas, & to such a degree that the President was prevailed upon to make another effort, and to appoint William Savage Esq., a British Subject and a Magistrate of the Island of Jamaica, to be our agent for the relief & protection of our seamen, frequenting those seas.

This gentleman has endeavoured, but with even less success than his predecessor, to procure the discharge of our seamen detained in the fleet under the command of Sir H. Parker. On a recent occasion he addressed a letter to the Admiral, requesting the discharge of several American seamen personally known to be so by the commander of the American Sloop of war, the Montezuma, then at Jamaica, & who applied to Mr. Savage to interfere for the purpose of obtaining their discharge. To this application Sir Hyde Parker reply'd that he would discharge no person from the fleet under his command upon such application, nor upon any other unless made from the Executive Govt. of the United States thro' the British Minister in America, & accompanied with the necessary documents to prove that the persons whose discharge shd. be required, are natives of the United States.*

* *Copy.*

W. SAVAGE TO ADMIRAL PARKER.

KINGSTON, Sunday, 7 July, 1799.

SIR:

I have this instant recd. a letter from Capt. Mullowny of the United States Sloop of War, Montezuma, requesting me to apply to you for an order to dis-

This answer has put an end to all hope of benefit from the agency of Mr. Savage, and in other respects is unsatisfactory, as it prescribes a mode of interference for the relief of our seamen, circuitous, inconvenient, & for obvious reasons unfit to be employ'd; & moreover, by direct inference, asserts through an officer of high rank, a right in G. Britain to take out of our ships, and to impress into her service all foreign seamen, not British Subjects, nor American citizens, and also all American citizens not natives of the United States.

It is by the express orders of the President of the U. States, that I am required to make this representation to your Lordship, and to complain of this injurious conduct of the commander-in-chief, Sir Hyde Parker; the correspondence between whom & the American agent (a copy of which is herewith transmitted to your Lordship) establishes the precision of this representation, and at the same time demonstrates the haughty injustice of that officer's proceedings—proceedings the more unaccountable and extraordinary, as they differ from what in similar cases passes before the eyes & under the immediate authority of the Lords Commrs. of the Admiralty.

But it is not alone to the complaint against the Commander-in-Chief, Sir H. Parker, that we desire to invite your Lordship's

charge Thos. Gosman, James Nill, Edd. Traverse, now on board his Majesty's Ship Surprize. These men are personally known to Cap. Mullowny, having formerly sailed with him, & are citizens of the U. States. If you will extend this request to the liberation of Asale Harris & other Americans on board the Carnatic, you will very much oblige, Sir, Yrs.

(Signed) WM. SAVAGE, Agent for the U. S. A.

Copy.

ADMIRAL PARKER TO WILLIAM SAVAGE.

ADMLS. PEN., 7 July, 1799.

SIR:

I have received your letter of this date & in answer thereto have to acquaint you that I cannot upon such an application discharge any men from his Majesty's service.

Applications made from the Executive Govt. thro' the British Minister in Ama., accompany'd by the necessary documents of men being natural born subjects of the U. S. are the only grounds upon which I think myself authorized to discharge men of the above description from his Majesty's service.

I am, Sir, yrs,

(Signed) H. PARKER.

attention. The origin of this complaint, the conflicting claims of the two countries, in regard to the seamen in their respective service, continue to be the occasion of unceasing injury to our citizens, and of embarrassment to our Government. It is here that your Lordship will discover & I persuade myself that your justice will engage you to concur with us in an effort to correct an Irregularity, that not only steadily operates to the discouragement and disadvantage of our navigation & commerce, but which wounds the most important Rights as well as the Honor of a friendly nation.

Hitherto the United States have put forth no claim on their side by way of balance to these of G. Britain. This moderation has proceeded from an earnest desire to prevent the dissatisfaction that would arise from an order to the Ships of War of the United States to pursue the same practice towards the seamen employed in the navigation of G. Britain, as her ships make use of towards the seamen employed in the navigation of the United States, as well as from the constant expectation that a convention might & would be concluded between the two countries by which the Rights of each should be protected & secured as fully as the nature of those Rights would admit.

Difficulties without doubt would occur in devising adequate & convenient Provisions to attain the object of the just expectations of the two Countries ; but without trial, have we sufficient reason to conclude, with a spirit of moderation on both sides & a sincere desire to overcome those difficulties, that they wd. be found to be insurmountable? few impediments, my Lord, even in more difficult affairs have, against such a temper, been found to be so.

The United States have been desirous to conclude a treaty on this important subject, and early in the present war invited G. Britain to unite with them in a patient effort for this purpose. Experience has since shown that ex parte regulations, instead of affording mutual security, are the occasion of mutual dissatisfaction, and there seems to be no adequate remedy short of a Treaty.

I cannot therefore give to your Lordship a more satisfactory proof of the sentiments which uniformly & on all occasions have led the United States to desire an uninterrupted and lasting Harmony & good understanding with Great Britain, which can

only be maintained in their greatest strength by acts of reciprocal justice & convenience, than by renewing the overture and asking your Lordship's high & merited influence with his Majesty's Govt. to cooperate with us in the negotiation of a treaty, that by ascertaining & securing the Rights of our two countries in respect to their seamen, shall increase the Harmony, and render safe as well as lasting the intercourse between them.

With the most distinguished Considn & Respect

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER IX.

King to Secretary of State—Conference with Lord Grenville on the Withdrawal of the Commissioners under the 6th Article—Lord Grenville in one of the Conferences said that the U. S. in publishing its Ministers' Dispatches must inspire Caution in making Communications to them—King had observed a Coldness towards the U. S. and consequently he had been more reserved also—Character and Principles of the British Government—States his Reasons and gives in Cipher the Conversations held with Lord Grenville—King to Secretary of State—Said he had referred to an explanatory Article to Lord Grenville, who preferred to await further News—Admiral Pringle's Proclamation against Whalers at the Cape of Good Hope—The President to Pickering—Explanatory Article—Cabot to King—Mission to France suspended—It will be difficult to recover what had been gained in public opinion—The pecuniary Troubles in G. Britain and their consequences—King to Secretary of State—Reverses of the Allies—Bankruptcies on the Continent—Consuls in France improperly giving irregular consular Papers to Vessels bought in France—Maryland Bank Mystery and Delay in Settlement.

R. King to Secretary of State.

No. 51.

London, Oct. 11, 1799.

Dear Sir:

In a late conference with Ld. Grenville, he asked me if I had recd. any account of the interruption of the Commission in Philada., and upon my answer in the negative he said that he had by the last Packet received information that the American Commissioners had withdrawn from the Board, that such withdrawing must be considered as a Resignation, and he proposed instructing Mr. Liston to apply to our Govt. to appoint other persons to succeed them, according to the Provisions of the Treaty. I observed that tho' I was not authorized to say anything officially respecting the suspension of the Commission, I had reason to

expect by the next packet full information and instructions respecting it, and without pretending to judge of the expediency of the measure proposed by his Lordship, I wd. take the liberty of saying that it did not appear to me likely to hasten a satisfactory termination of the misunderstanding that had taken place, and especially if, as I conjectured to be the case, the conduct of the American Commissrs. was not disapproved by their Govt.

Ld. Grenville reply'd certainly the approbation of their conduct by their Govt. would very much alter the case, and after a conversation at some length, which, without an intention on either side, entered into the discussion of several of the controverted Points, Ld. Grlle. said he wd. defer writing to Mr. Liston upon the subject until I should receive my instructions respecting it. From the tenor of this conference we may anticipate the difficulties to be expected in a further negotiation, & which the course of Events may increase rather than lessen.

I annex the Copies of several notes which I have lately sent to Ld. Grenville with such answers as I have received, respecting the Impressment of our seamen.*

With Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

P. S. *In one of my* earliest *conferences with Ld. Grenville*, † the conversation turning on the Publication *by our Govt.* of the dispatches of its *ministers*, *his Lordship* observed that the practice must inspire caution in the communications that were made to these and suggested that *he & I* might find it convenient to observe a distinction between *our official* and personal conversations, & *the first* might be exactly repeated *but the second* shd. be considered in the same light as any other *information*, & in that sense might assist *us in* forming *our* respective opinions.

I saw no objection & some advantages in agreeing to this suggestion, and the distinction has been often made and observed *in our* subsequent *conferences.*

For some months past, and ever since the news *of another mission to France*, I have observed *here a coldness towards the U. S.*,

* September 14, September 16, and October 7, 1799. Lord Grenville's answer to the first two follows this.

† Words in italics in cipher.

an indifference *to their affairs*, a disposition to give *unfavorable interpretations to their* conduct, *and in my* ordinary intercourse with *the Govt. I have* met with more *difficulties* than *I had before* been accustomed to experience.

Of so little importance has it been thought to conceal *this temper*, which increased and extended itself with *the victories & success of the allies*, that for some time *I have* thought *myself* obliged to observe a reserve *on my part* corresponding with that practiced *towards me;* and during the months of Aug. & Sept. *I did not see*, except once *at the Levée*, and had little or no *intercourse with Ld. Grenville or any of his colleagues.*

On the first of this month I rec'd a note *from his Lordship*, requesting, in the usual form, *to see me at Eleven o'clock* the next day *in Cleveland Row. I was punctual in my* attendance, and you have an account *of the official* part of this *conference* in a letter to which this serves *as a P. S.*

But after much consideration and a faithful comparison of the language *held by Ld. Gr.* on this occasion, as well with the parallel opinions that *I have heard of from* other quarters, as with the sentiments contained *in a periodical Publication called the Anti-Jacobin review, a work* that uniformly supports & is said to be supported *by the Govt.*, I have believed it to be my duty to send *you in confidence* for the information *of the President*, a further report containing *the unofficial conversation* that passed in *this conference*, and I am the more disposed to do so, as the result of a close observation of the real *character and principles* of this Govt., has been an alteration in some degree of the opinions that during the early *part of my residence here I had* formed respecting the *Justness and Sincerity of its* Views and Professions concerning *our Country.*

Ld. Grle. began the conference, as I have before stated, by intimating *his intention* to instruct *Mr. Liston* to require *of our Govt. to appoint other commissioners* in the place of *Messrs. Fitzsimons & Sitgreaves;* and upon my suggestion that tho' I had no such official information, it was not improbable that the *conduct of the American Commissioners was approved by the Govt.*, & therefore that the proposed instructions would not be likely to remove the *difficulties & disagreements* that had arisen in the *construction of the Treaty*, his Lordship observed with *less* moderation than *usual*,

if you are authorized, *Sir*, to say that the *secession of your Commissrs.* was by order of *your Govt.*, certainly the subject presents itself in a quite different light. I have no doubt of the fact, *my Lord*, but as I have already said I have no regular *information upon the subject*, & can therefore say nothing *officially* respecting it, except that I am informed that *the American Commrs.* in consequence *of a disagreement* in the *interpretation of the 6th Article of the Treaty*, have *withdrawn* in like manner as the *English Comn. last year seceded* in consequence of a disagreement *in the construction of the 7th Art. of the same Treaty*, and that by the *next Packet*, *I* expect exact information & instructions respecting *this affair* which may perhaps become the subject of a further *negotiation.* Ever since *Mr. Jay's arrival here* we have pursued, said *Ld. Grenville*, measures of conciliation *towards the U. S., and have* cherished a disposition to overlook every unpleasant occurrence we met with ; but I must say that we have not seen *a like temper & disposition* on the part *of the U. S.*, and it is easy to foresee that the *spirit of conciliation* must exhaust itself. I am told *continued his Ldshp. that Mr. Jay* has declared that *he had no* notion of such *a construction* as has been given *to the 6th Article*, and so I upon oath could declare *that the 7th Article has been construed in a way* that I had never supposed that it could be ; but nothwithstanding I advised *his Majesty's Govt.* to acquiesce in *the awards & to pay the money. Mr. Jay & I* endeavoured to agree we found it impracticable. I believe we honestly disagreed, at length however we concluded *the 6th & 7th Articles*, by which the subjects of our disagreement are submitted *to arbitrators.* A question arose whether *their decision* should *be final* or subject to *the confirmation of the* respective *Govmts.*, & we thought it would be most prudent to make *their decisions* conclusive. How under these circumstances can it be expected that *we shall* consent to begin *a new negotiation ?* However just there would be no advantage in recrimination; but I have no reserve in assuring *your Lordship*, whatever may have been the *disposition of Gr. Britain*, that one of equal sincerity has existed *in the U. S.* to maintain the most perfect *Harmony & good understanding between the two countries ;* and I am wholly at a loss to conjecture to what facts *your Ldshp.* can refer as evidence of a different *temper.* In respect to the *interruption of the Commission* at Philada., I might content myself

with observing that *if England* found sufficient reason to justify an instruction *to her commrs. to secede*, she cannot think it extraordinary *that the U. S.* from the same or similar reasons have given the like instruction *to their comm. at Philada.* But exclusive of this observation, what passes in respect to ordinary *Arbitrations* between individuals, which differ nothing in principle from those *between Nations*, teaches us that matters not submitted, or submitted with limitations, are sometimes attempted to be drawn within *the Arbitration*, or to be decided *absolutely* and without regard *to the conditions*, and as in such cases *Individuals* are not bound by these irregular proceedings, so in similar circumstances, *Nations must* be free in like manner to refuse their acquiescence.

I think, said Ld. G., I could show a distinction between what passed *here with* respect to *the Commission under the 7th Article*, & what has taken *place at Philada.* It is doubtless true *that Arbitrators* may exceed *their powers* but I cannot conceal from you on this occasion, that an opinion exists & prevails very generally among *the creditors that it is the amount of the Debts and not* any error in the *interpretation of the article* that is the real cause *of the embarrassment.*

I am convinced, *my Lord*, that no opinion can be more erroneous or unjust. I know the integrity *of my own Govt.* too well to suffer the smallest doubt on this Point. *No sum*, however much it might exceed *our expectations*, that could be *awarded* upon any just *interpretation of the Treaty*, would have the least influence *upon our Govt.* to elude *its payment at* the Expense of the public Faith. *The interruption of the Commission*, as I learn through various and disinterested channels, has proceeded from the extravagant & injurious *construction* put upon *the Treaty by your Commissioners—a construction* in which we cannot acquiesce without *humiliation*, nor without opening a discussion respecting our revolution, that was unalterably settled at the *Treaty of Peace.* I do not suggest, *said Ld. Grle. that your Govt.* is unfriendly or unjust, but the *clamour of the Debtors* and the dissatisfaction produced in consequence of the *Law for granting Protection to your seamen*, which being without the requisite Provisions for the security of our Rights, *the protections granted* under it have not been respected, may have had some influence upon *your Govt. This Law* has excited great irritation against *England.*

I must confess, *my Lord, that I* never expected that *the Law* alluded to would be cited as evidence of the want of *a friendly* disposition *towards G. Britain.*, because I have considered it as a singular proof of an *opposite* temper. When & why was this *Law passed?* Not until *we had* without success endeavored to conclude some agreement *with England* for the security *of our seamen;* nor then but with sole & just view of exempting *our citizens* from an injury and oppression practiced upon the *People* of no other country.

Here a servant entered and announced *Monsr. late Count D'Artois.* Ld. Gr. immediately rose from *his chair*, & observing that it would not *be civil to keep Monsieur waiting*, asked me if I would call upon him the next morning. I should readily have acquiesced, *had I not* thought it *incorrect that a conference* asked *by his Lordship, and the only one* that had existed for *several months* should be terminated *in this manner; I* therefore replied *that I* was going in the evening to my house in the country, but that I would return in the morning in case the *Tuesday* or *Wednesday* following would not be equally convenient *to his Ldshp.* He answered that *Tuesday* would be the same as tomorrow.

I attended *in Cleveland Row* on *Tuesday* at eleven o'clock. It was *two before I* was received by Ld. Grlle. During the time passed *in the ante-chamber, Mr. Pitt & Mr. Dundas arrived and had conferences with his Ldshp.* as had likewise the *under Secretary Hammond. We had had that* morning a Gazette Extra, with the account of the Duke of York's success in Holland on the 2nd, but there was *a gloom on the faces of all these gentlemen,* that excited the suspicion that bad news had been received from some quarter that more than balanced the success in Holland. The arrival *of the French* papers a day or two afterwards brought us the account of the victories of Massena in Switzerland.

Upon *being admitted, I* began by making *his Lordship my compliments upon the news from Holland;* and a short conversation ensued concerning the situation of that country; *I* waited *for his Lordship* to recommence *the conference*, which *he did by* saying with less *stateliness* and more good humour than were shewn *in the conference of the 2nd*, that as the *September Packet* was not yet arrived, we had no further accounts *from Philada.*, and until we had *he did not see that* anything could be done concerning *the Commission.*

I observed that on recurring to my last advices *from Philada., I found* that I had *no official* account of the *interruption of the Commission*, & that my letters only gave me reason to expect information on that subject *by the Septemr. Packet ;* I then added that since I had seen *his Ldp. I had* considered with great attention the import *of certain observations* that he had delivered in *our last conference*, that I was aware the conversation between *us had not been strictly official*, and it was in this sense that I had reflected upon it, and the Result of my reflexions had been the thorough conviction not only *of the error* but *of the injustice of those* observations.

It was to two precise points that I alluded, one *that the American* Govt., from weakness or want of inclination did not manifest *towards England the same friendly* disposition *that* since *the arrival of Mr. Jay, England* had shewn *to the U. S. ;* and the other that it was *the amount of the Debts*, and not any well founded objection *to the principles* or manner of the proceedings *of the Commrs.* that had occasioned *their suspension.* I proceeded by saying that I could not but *regret that these sentiments* shd. be entertained by any one, & much more so *by his Lordship.* On an impartial review of the avowed principles & conduct *of the American Govt.* since the epoch referred to *by his Ldp*, I was constrained to say if they were not thought to be satisfactory evidence of a disposition *to live in harmony and friendship with England*, I should not only despair of seeing such evidence, but I felt myself in candour obliged to avow that I could not wish to see it, and that it only surprised me that any one who possessed the means of understanding the *political situation of the U. S.*, should entertain a moment's doubt *on this point.* I then added that I could not avoid feeling *the Injury of his Lordship's* observations concerning *the interruption of the Commission at Phila.*, as it imputed *to our Govt. a want of sincerity and Integrity*, that was alike refuted by the great efforts it had made to conclude *the Treaty with Engd.* & by the good faith that invariably and on all occasions had guided its Discussions. *The sum* at its greatest *estimate* & under the most abusive interpretations *of the Treaty was nothing*, when weighed against the character *of our nation ;* We know *the value of* reputation, and were we not restrained, as every moral society ought to be, to do right from duty, we were sufficiently enlightened to do

so from interest. Besides we were not a nation surrounded by more powerful neighbours, and to protect ourselves against whom the Devices of the feeble were necessary. On the contrary, tho' not as numerous, we were as unassailable and secure as any nation in Europe ; and knowing our real Independence, we were also awake to the destinies of our Country and influenced by the just notions of national honor that so properly belonged to our situation and prospects.

What were the chief points *of disagreement between the Commissioners?* The Treaty of Peace provides that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediments in the recovery of their Debts ; such recovery could be had only thro' the agency of the courts : complaints were made on the one side, tho' denied on the other, that notwithstanding the Treaty, Debts could not be recovered by reason of the existence of lawful impediments, & without reference to the merits of these complaints, the U. S. engaged in the last Treaty to compensate all loss and damage that had arisen by lawful impediments, and which could not, at the conclusion of the Treaty, be recovered by the agency of the Courts. The Engagement is conditional and the U. S. are not bound for any Debt that at the conclusion of the Treaty could thro' the Courts be recovered of the Debtor. The Course of proceeding in the Execution of this engagement could scarcely be misunderstood. Each Creditor in preferring his case to the Commissrs. is required to shew that he is of the class in whose favor the 4th Article of the Treaty of Peace was made, that with due diligence he had not been able previous to the last Treaty, to recover his Debt by reason of the operation of lawful impediments, and moreover that the same could not be recovered posterior to that Treaty.

Instead of this course a majority of the Commissrs. has adopted certain resolves, enlarging the class of Persons included within the Provisions of the Treaty, relieving the creditors from the obligation of applying to the Courts of Law for the recovery of their Debts, and in effect giving to them an absolute, in the place of a conditional, Remedy against the U. S. ; *a construction of the Treaty*, not only incompatible with the guards and cautions that should attend the examination *of the claims*, but that impeaches *the Independence & Purity of our Tribunals.* We, as well as others, desire

to preserve the Reputation *of our Judiciary.* What was *your Ldshp's* language in a case by no means so strong, but that was attended by circumstances that bore an analogy to the present question? *Our courts, said your Lp.* on the occasion, cannot be presumed to be incompetent or unwilling to do justice: *We* cannot consent *to see them* set aside or discredited, and I am really at a loss, added your Lordp., how any honest man upon *his* oath can say, when the experiment has not been made, *that justice* cannot be obtained *in our Tribunals. I added* that I knew the integrity *of the Government I served.* I had been the witness of its *sincere Disposition* and earnest efforts *to live in Harmony with Engd.* I had long believed that *Harmony & friendship* would be mutually advantageous, and that I had *come to Engd.* with the desire of being in this respect useful *to my country.* But if the sentiments *that I had* been controverting, were really entertained by the Eng. Govern't., *I could* not expect to see much good will or good humour *between the two countries, and we* should *I feared* differ so essentially upon the cause *of this interruption of* THE COMMISSION AT PHILA., that there would be but little prospect of a satisfactory *negotiation* upon that subject.

Ld. G. whom I carefully attended *to while I* delivered these observations, *& who* it was pretty plain was not prepared *to receive them,* after making some attempt to discriminate *between the Commission here & that at Phil'a* & to shew against all reason that *the courts here* should be resorted to, but that such course was not necessary *at Philada.,* added that *every letter he had seen* agreed in the opinion that *it was the sum* & not the *construction of the treaty* that constituted the embarrassment.

I replied that the Claimants would doubtless send over exaggerated reports & false opinions, and those of them who had the least pretensions to complain, would probably complain the loudest; that if *my Govt.* had formed its opinion of the Court of Appeals from Letters sent from *this country* respecting the *American* Claims, depending for these six years before that Court, it would not be much in favor of its competency or Justice.

Ld. G. said a new negotiation would be extremely difficult, *as the creditors* thought they had tried *their cases* and obtained a decision in their favor: that if all *the Commissioners were changed,*

still the *new ones* would have before them the *decisions of their predecessors.*

I answered that this was a consequence of an erroneous mode of proceeding. *Ld. G. said* he certainly wished the business had been done in another manner.

The conversation being at a stand, *I observed that I* must say something *to you by the Packet* that was soon to sail, but *that I* could write nothing decisive upon the subject of *our Conference. His Lp. said that he* should defer writing *to Mr. Liston* until the arrival of the *next Packet*, in expectation that she would bring *my instructions.* If nothing cou'd be agreed between *me & him*, he should then *instruct Mr. Liston* to make such representations *to our Govt. as the* occasion called for. They had given *up the pledge* they held for the *fulfillment of the Treaty of Peace, and they must* consider the non-performance *of the last Treaty on our part as a breach of Faith.*

His Ldp. having again adverted to the *friendly* disposition of Engd. towards the U. S., I took occasion to remark that it was not my intention to make a formal complaint against the last number of the Anti-Jacobin Review, but I could not avoid requesting *His Ldp. to read* what is there called the Summary of Politics ; adding that the Invective was not only offensive to our Govt., but that it contained assertions that were both false and injurious to the Harmony of the two countries. *His Ldp. replied* that he would certainly *read it.*

Tho' I think it likely you may procure the Anti-Jacobin Review for September from Cobbett, the Printer of Porcupine's Gazette, I nevertheless send you that part of the number that is called, the Summary of Politics. I think I am not mistaken in believing that a principal part of the information of the Editors of this Publication is derived from the Editor of Porcupine's Gazette, a Paper that I have been often mortified to observe is here considered as the most authentic source of information respecting the United States.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 52.

LONDON, Oct. 14, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I omitted in my last to inform you that at the close of the Conference with Lord Grenville concerning the Commission at Philada., I mentioned the explanatory article respecting Contraband, and repeated what I had so frequently before urged in favor of its conclusion. His Lordship replied that there was not any disagreement in our opinions on that subject, but at present, alluding without doubt to the interruption of the two commissions, it wd. be adviseable to defer the conclusion of the proposed article.

It was more than three months since I had complained of the Proclamation of Admiral Pringle, forbidding the whalemen to take whales upon the coasts of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. I asked if the Proclamation, a copy of which I had delivered to his Lordship, was genuine, and whether orders had been sent to correct the error into which the Admiral had fallen. His Lordship answered that the Proclamation was genuine, and that he had given directions for an enquiry into the usage & practice of the Dutch Government, observing that having acquired what the Dutch possessed, their usage & practice must become the Standard of the Rights of England. I then inquired what was the situation of the agreement made with Toussaint, and mentioned the capture of our vessels by Sir Hyde Parker's Squadron. He said that the agreement was, as he understood, in the course of Execution & that the Letter of Mr. Liston to Sir H. Parker wd. he hoped be sufficient to correct the mistaken interpretation that the Admiral had adopted.

The French Papers just recd. contain accounts of a series of Battles, in which Massena, according to the report, has nearly destroyed the Austrian and Russian armies in Switzerland. If these victories are as decisive as the French papers represent them, they may & probably will give an active turn to the campaign, & its conclusion may be as disastrous as its commencement has been glorious to the Allies.

No farther accounts are received from Holland since the affair of the 2nd. More troops are about embarking to join the Duke's army. The public expectation from this Expedition are much lowered, and the late French news will still more deeply depress the hopes of success. With perfect Respect, &c.

RUFUS KING.

It was probably in consequence of these letters, that Mr. Adams wrote to the Secretary of State the following letter, which, though of later date, is, with the extract from Gibbs's *Administration of John Adams*, vol. ii., 306, * explanatory of the steps that were taken in coming to a decision relative to the difficulties which arose in the commission under the 6th Article of the Treaty.

* By Mr. Gibbs we are told that these matters had been discussed at a Cabinet meeting on November 13th and 14th ; Mr. Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, recommended, that a copy of every paper exchanged between the Commissioners, with the letter of the Attorney-General to the President, and a copy of the Journal of the Board, should be immediately sent to Mr. King ; that a paper should be prepared and sent to him stating the objections of the American Government to the principles assumed by the majority, distinguishing some which are doubtful, and such as are expedient, from those which the American Government will resist at all hazards ; that Mr. King be required to press the adoption of an explanatory article or a system of instructions to the board and, in case of success, to propose a new board chosen as the old one had been, with one eminent British subject as an umpire.

He also states that a report on this subject was made to the President on 11th December. Mr. Gibbs says : "On the 19th of December Mr. Lee's explanatory letter and project were transmitted to Mr. King." Mr. King endeavoured, as this correspondence shows, to act upon the plan above suggested, but finding great difficulties in making a settlement this way, was finally authorized to meet a proposition, by which the United States should settle all the claims for a stipulated sum. Upon this principle a convention was signed by Lord Hawksbury and the American Minister in January, 1802, the United States paying 600,000 pounds sterling, in three equal and annual payments ; and the commissioners under the 7th Article resuming their sessions in London, their work was finished satisfactorily in 1804.

J. Adams to T. Pickering, Secretary of State.*

Philadelphia, Dec. 7, 1799.

The Attorney General has left with me, and I now send to you a project of an explanatory article or treaty, and a project of a letter to Mr. King, desiring an ultimatum. There is no business before the government, at this time, of more importance than this and I pray you to turn your attention to it and prepare a draught of a letter to Mr. King, to be considered, if possible, on Monday evening at six o'clock at my chamber, where I ask the favor of your company, with all the heads of departments.

Geo. Cabot to R. King.

Oct. 16, 1799.

My dear Sir :

The mission to France is suspended never to be revived I hope ; this gives general joy, but how shall our Govt. recover its lost reputation ? It can never get rid of the imputation of weakness, inconsistency & dishonor. I wish this disgrace may be all, but I fear more. A man who forfeits the good opinion of the wise & the good imposes upon himself the necessity of accommodating himself a little more to men of an opposite character ; he places himself in a situation which men of sense & principle disapprove : his pride forbids him to relinquish it & he flies for support to those who will give it. I shall be happy if this is not exemplified.

Altho we cannot get back to the envied position in which we stood 12 months ago we may get part way ; or at any rate we may travel no further in an opposite direction. Nothing can be more mortifying than the reflection that after the unwearied labors of good men had brought our Country to a just way of thinking, its best hopes have been blasted by one act of folly. I shall not be surprised to see an appeal made to every popular prejudice & especially the inexhaustible one of animosity to the English. It will be so easy to cover this with a patriotic garb & there is so much of the reality of jealousy & prejudice on this point in the breast of the —— that it can not fail to be used. Un-

*J. Adams's Life, in vol. ix., p. 42, relative to the 6th Article.

der an affected independency of sentiment & with a desire to keep the nation clear of foreign bias a great many things may be said which tho' abstractedly true yet as they will be applied may be extremely pernicious. Nothing wou'd be more easy than to form a commanding party in this way which shou'd consist of all the Jacobins & many weak half-formed & half-informed Federalists. I hope it will not happen but until I see decisive measures of a contrary character I shall be full of fears. You have a great & difficult part to act & I know you will merit success but you may fail nevertheless. The pecuniary affairs of G. B. are in a state that I do not perfectly approve : their means are ample but it is an operation of immense difficulty to draw from the people 30 millions annually to pay to Individuals ; the machinery requisite for such a purpose must be very powerful & its management delicate. If I understand the effect of their arrangements with the Bank it is now a paper system whose equivalence to Gold & Silver is supported in spite of a contrary tendency : but true principles only will remain, the laws of nature must prevail & Gold & Silver must be *actually* demandable for Bank Notes or the Metals cease to be the measure of Value & will be abandoned as such. You know more of all this than I can see here, perhaps you have already estimated the consequences of a state of things which may happen in G. B. There are those who apprehend that a great crisis approaches in which the Financial powers must be renovated & that in the paroxisms which the nation will experience they will find it difficult to keep at home their Commercial & Manufacturing Capitals, their Skill & their industry & that to prevent their emigration to this Country an open Rupture will be necessary. These ideas are profound, they are however a little too refined, I hope, to be just ; I will not trouble you with all my conjectures on this subject. I received a few days ago an excellent letter from Gore dated July 27—it is full of good sense & written in his agreeable manner but I don't entirely agree with him in his comparative view of talents. There is *more* solid sober sense among the Bull Calves & something *less* among the Baboon the Tyger-Monkeys than he admits. I have always thought English Greatness was better seen abroad & French at home—but enough. God bless you.

R. King to Secretary of State.

No. 53.

London, Oct. 21, 1799.

Dear Sir:

If we credit the French accounts the Allies have been entirely driven out of Switzerland with the loss of 30,000 men since the 24th of September. There may be some exaggeration in these reports, but it cannot be concealed that the Allies have been forced in all their positions in Switzerland, and that their loss has not only been severe, but such as must apparently decide the issue of the campaign upon the Northern & Eastern Frontiers of France.

The Eng. & Russian army is to be withdrawn from Holland, where it has lost upwards of 10,000 men, without any material co-operation or risings of the Dutch. Some concern exists upon the subject of its retreat, but if the country in its front can be inundated, it may re-embark without molestation.

A Message of the Directory to the Councils of the 14th inst. announces the extraordinary event of the arrival of Buonaparte at Frejus, with Berthier & several other of his Generals, who are stated to have left the army of Egypt in the most satisfactory situation.

This Country will suffer exceedingly from the badness of its corn Harvest, wh. has been very much injured by the rains that have continued without intermission for the last two months. It is apprehended that no considerable succour can be obtained from the north of Europe, where, from the same cause, there is likely to be a failure of crops. Bread is already at two prices & it is believed that it must be still dearer. The ports are opened to the importation of corn, flour & meal, and are to continue open until the 30th Sept. next.

The great Bankruptcies that commenced at Hamburgh, are extending to Altona, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and some of the large towns of Germany, & notwithstanding the aids of the Bank, and even of Parliament, it is feared that Capital failures will happen in London, and other great commercial towns of this country. From an intimate & extensive connection with Hamburgh & London, as well as from the great fall in the W.

India Produce, I am apprehensive that we also shall be sufferers to a very great extent.

Immediately after the rect. of your No. 60, Major Lenox apply'd for the discharge of Thos. Jervey of So. Carolina, whose case had been recommended to you by C. L. Rea of the Senate, & was answered, as he had before been upon a former application, that Jervey having voluntarily entered on board the Edgar and recd. the King's bounty, coud. not be discharged.

Several of our vessels captured in coming out of the Texel, as well as the Maes, have been condemned in the High Court of Admiralty for breach of Blockade ; and three or four lately captured in their passage from France to the U. S. will soon receive their trials. These expeditions, upon the notion of a dispensing power in the President in individual cases, are encouraged by our Consuls in France and particularly by Mr. Barnet of Bordeaux, who, as has improperly been the general practice of our Consuls in that Country, has no scruples in delivering to vessels, purchased by Amers. in France, consular papers in imitation of Amern. Register Sea Letters, and other Documents which ought not to be issued by any officer without the limits of the U. S. These fraudulent proceedings mislead our citizens, & throw suspicion upon the regular ship's papers issued from the proper & competent offices.

It was a similar irregularity practiced by Barlow & Cathelan that brought upon us the claims of the Baceres of Algiers in the case of the Fortune. Would it not be adviseable to instruct these Consuls to abstain from this improper Practice ?

I have received your letter with Mr. Chase's Note concerning the Maryland Bank Stock, & am very much at a loss in determining what sort of a Reply I can in prudence make to it. On the one hand I still entertain hopes by the means that I have employed, & which I continue to use, the stock will be transferred by the present Chancellor ; on the other, the mystery & delay that continue to prevail on this subject, notwithstanding the repeated and explicit assurance of Ld. Loughborough that the business wd. be soon & satisfactorily finished, ought perhaps to discourage all expectation that this will happen while the present Chancellor remains in office.

The present is in every Sense an unfavorable moment for the adoption of any new course & I think I shall be better able a few months hence to give a safer opinion respecting the business than I am now able to do. . . .

With perfect respect & esteem

R. KING.

CHAPTER X.

King to Secretary of State—No Instructions relative to Commission in Philadelphia—Regrets it because the Mission to France is on its Way—Estimate of Affairs on the Continent—Unfavorable to the Allies—Troup to King—Sailing of the Envoys—Evil Effects of the Action of the President—Especially on the next presidential Election—Pickering to King—Envoys sailed—Character of their Instructions confined to making commercial Regulations—Cabot to King—Apprehensions from the Mission—Jacobin Overthrow—Effect of Suspension of specie Payments in England—Sedgwick to King—Facts relative to the President's Decision—Loss of Confidence in his Wisdom and Prudence—Will cause Division among the Federalists—Candidate for Speaker—Measures that should be taken by Congress—J. Trumbull to King—Relative to the Publication of N. Webster's Epidemics—King to Lord Grenville—Complains of continued Depredations in American Seas by Admiral Sir Hyde Parker's Squadron, and asks that prompt Remedy may be afforded—King to Secretary of State—Regrets he had not received the Report of Commission under 6th Article—Report that the Mission to France had not sailed led him to a Conference with Lord Grenville, which he gives.

R. King to Secretary of State.

No. 54.

London, Nov. 4, 1799.

Dear Sir :

I have recd. a complete series of your dispatches to No. 66 inclusive. I expected that the last wd. have included my instructions on the subject of the Commn. at Philada. I wish that they may soon arrive, as I shd. regret the appearance of Delay, especially if, as I suppose to be the case, the Mission to France is on its way.

The official reports of the two sides differ very materially concerning their respective losses in the battles that have forced the Allies to evacuate Switzerland ; a fact that in itself is decisive in

respect to these contradictory accounts. The News papers before this letter reaches you, will have told you all we know of the terms upon which the Duke of York has been permitted to withdraw his army from Holland. Many of the regiments have returned, & the rest of the army will be reimbarked with all possible expedition. If before the conclusion of this Convention, hopes might have been entertained that the Allies wd. before the close of the campaign be able to resume the offensive with the view of again entering Switzerland, these hopes must now be given up, as the French Army in Holland will doubtless be sent to reinforce the Army of the Rhine, which by an irruption into Germany will compel the Arch Duke and Suwarrow to make such large detachments as will leave the Army of the Danube under Massena an overmatch for the allied army to which it is opposed. It is to the moral effects of these successes that we shd. direct our attention. In France the factions are silenced, and at least for the present the Directory is confirmed in its ascendency & power. The insurrections ill-combined & always an useless & cruel waste of blood, will be soon suppressed, & from the like cause, the People will submit to new experiments to raise Taxes, for the want of which the Directory was in the greatest embarrassment.

There has been little mutual confidence at any period of the campaign between Austria & Eng. Defeats as well as victories beget jealousies ; moreover the occasion of mutual recrimination, which ends in mutual animosity and ex parte treaties. If Austria conclude a separate Peace, as France will omit no means to induce her to do, Russia has beforehand told us she will withdraw her Armies and the war will continue between France and England.

The great Bankruptcies upon the Continent cannot fail to be followed by considerable failures here. The symptoms of revolt that manifest themselves in Ireland, the hearts of whose inhabitants are incurably disaffected, must be matter of great and constant inquietude to the Govent., which must see with grief the distresses of the poor from the scarcity of Bread, and *the mortification of the nation being* obliged *to ransom the Army sent for the* deliverance *of Holland.** The natural effect of this posture of

* Italics in cipher.

public affairs *is to debilitate instead of* raising the national courage ; and it wd. not surprize me if in the course of the winter *there sh. arise* thro' the nation *a general cry for peace.*

My numbers 51 & 52 will suggest to you the reasons why I judged it requisite to suspend asking of this Govt. *its interference to* ascertain the disposition *of the Porte* in respect *to the proposed Mission to Constantinople.* I am convinced *that this Mission as* well *as that to Russia* must at least for the present be relinquished.

I cannot yet learn whether the Blockade of the Ports of Holland will be raised. I think it likely to be because this country has a great interest in opening the markets of that, for the sale of the West India products with which it is glutted ; there is no doubt that the Blockade of the Dutch Ports, through which the products of the East & West Indies were distributed thro' Germany, Flanders & the Northern provinces of France has been a principal cause of the failures at Hamburgh.

With perfect Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 6 November, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

By this time I suppose the Chief Justice and Governor Davie of North Carolina have sailed from New Port in the United States Frigate, commanded by Commodore Barry, on their mission to France. It is said they will sail directly to France. I have not met with a single person, who approves this measure in the present posture of affairs : and it may be said to be universally disgusting. The President, we understand, has embarked in it not only without advice, but against the opinion of all his friends. The Chief Justice is particularly opposed to it, and, I am told, it is far from being agreeable to Governor Davie ; and they have been induced to go by the solicitation of their friends, as being safe persons to be entrusted with the execution of a bad measure. Their instructions, however, are unexceptionable, and they have no power to interfere with existing Treaties, or to do anything but restore the state of amity and the relations of commerce to the two countries.

The old Treaty or Consular Convention they have no power to renew.

You can scarcely form an idea how this measure from its commencement to the present stage of it has damped the ardor of the friends of the government. It will have a serious effect on the next election of President. An attempt will certainly be made, by the best friends of the government, to get rid of Mr. Adams, and nothing but extreme necessity will induce the support of him. Situated as we are now with Great Britain in regard to our late Treaty, I am far from believing that we run no risk of breaking with her. . . .

As usual great efforts are making in every part of our country to vilify the government and its administration, to serve Jefferson at the next election. I have my anxieties about the event; but we must stand to our posts and manfully face the enemy. Under our government it is vain to look for repose! . . . Little Gerry is crawling out of his obscurity and giving entertainments as a candidate for the office of Governor of Massachusetts. I understand he expects to be supported by the independent of both parties. . . .

Most truly, R. T.

Mr. Pickering in his "private and confidential letter of Nov. 7, 1799, writes in cipher to Mr. King.

"*The Envoys (to France) must be on the point of embarking at Newport. The British Government may probably feel some solicitude on the nature of their instructions; and you may wish to give it reasonable satisfaction. All the right pledged to the British by Treaty will be sacredly maintained. The Envoys are particularly enjoined to form no agreement inconsistent with our stipulations in the 24th and 25th articles of the British Treaty. The outrages of the French Republic, having occasioned the dissolution of the Treaties between the United States and France, the particular ——— has lost the priority of privileges, to which the twenty-fourth article above mentioned, referred.*

"*You will naturally expect the present instructions to go beyond the former. The question then was, how to amend existing Treaties, and*

without making new sacrifices, to give satisfaction to France. Now it was to be considered what satisfaction for injuries received was due to the United States ; and what new stipulations, their future interest required. Old obligations being rightfully and forever dissolved, we of course refuse to resume any of the burthens they imposed. However, on the supposition that our just claims would be provided for, and all subjects of difference adjusted, it was natural to turn our thoughts to the regulations adapted to a commercial intercourse. These few observations will, I think, suggest to you everything material for your information.

"*The changes in the external relations of France, and their effects on its interior, made us hope that the President would suspend the mission, until a Government promising some stability, should afford a prospect of useful negotiation. As soon as the instructions were finally arranged, (in which he adopted the opinions of the Heads of Departments) he gave peremptory orders for the mission to proceed. This determination was deprecated by enlightened Federalists, especially in New England. I know in particular that your friends Cabot, Ames, and Higginson were on the rack ; and Mr. Ellsworth had expressed his opinion by letter to the President before he left Quincy, that it was expedient to suspend the mission. It remains to be seen whose opinion was correct. The President thinks the French Government will reject the terms to which the Envoys are limited ; that they will soon return, and enable him to recommend a formal war ! But we make no demands, which we have not a right to insist on, and if we did, far from rejecting them, the Directory, pressed as they now are, would sooner give us carte blanche, and when we should have written it, on our own terms, it would still be, in the view of that infernal Government, but a carte—while we should be disarmed and exposed to all the mischief of a new political intercourse. As to the Republic, instead of being near its end, the President says it will last yet seven years.*"

The Civil War in St. Domingo between Toussaint and Rigaud will probably soon terminate in the destruction of the latter and his adherents. In that event we shall see what have been Toussaint's ultimate views. Notwithstanding all "*his professions of devotion to the French Republic, I continue to think he is merely temporising and that he will ere long declare St. Domingo independent.*"

G. Cabot to R. King.

November 9, 1799.

My Dear Sir:

Our Envoys have sailed. Sic vult sic jubet Preses. Notwithstanding a suspension of this measure was notified to Mr. Ellsworth by the P. yet upon the arrival of the latter at Trenton their departure was order'd by him; *this determination of the P. having been previously made upon mature deliberation & not possible to be changed,** delicacy forbad the consultation of others whose advice must have been rejected. You will easily imagine how unpropitious this whole transaction proves to our internal as well as to our external politics. I have formerly expressed my apprehensions of the new divisions which it wou'd produce & which wou'd strengthen the Jacobin party: this is already realized in some degree & will be more so; much will depend however upon the conduct of G. B. toward us; they may succour or defeat the Jacobins. If they extend their depredations beyond the just limits of Belligerent Rights, they will occasion our Govt. to change hands & to pass over to the Jacobins, but if they confine their Captures to those who violate their Rights, I trust the Govt. of the U. S. will not be wrested from federal hands. I am disappointed in the expectations I had formed of the Swiss, instead of the spirit of revenge which wou'd have been terrible to Frenchmen had it been felt, they appear to be poisoned with the noxious doings of the Jacobin Doctors & must yet suffer much more before they will be radically cured—in every other quarter the success of the Enemies of the Revolutionists corresponds to my full expectations & altho' from the discordancy of the allied powers & the weak or wicked projects of some of them the Great Catastrophe of total Destruction to the Revy. Sect may be protracted, yet I think the force of the Sect is broken; it cannot overrun countries again with facility. The popular material wont *immediately* effervesce again; there must be a space of time before new fermentation can be produced by similar means. If we have war it will be more of the old sort, & in France I think there must be a Reaction of Royalism which will endeavor to extirpate every root & seed of the infernal Sect.

* Italics in cipher.

How is England to manage the difficult affair of money? the power to refuse Gold & Silver for notes is still continued to the Bank & to the Minister. If this power is used paper *must* fall below the level of the Metals: even the fear of its use has a tendency to produce this effect. Mr. Pitt doubtless knows all this & either contemplates a paper system *or he must* restore things *soon* to their natural course.

Vive vale.

T. SEDGWICK TO R. KING.

STOCKBRIDGE, 15 Nov., 1799.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The suspense of the mission to France, the miserable jealousy which has been imbibed by, probably infused into, *the great man*, * of those men, who were, in my opinion, best entitled to the public confidence, and their impaired respect for him—these circumstances and their consequences gave me an unconquerable aversion to writing to you: but there are facts lately come to my knowledge, how is immaterial, but they may be relied on as true, which I think it my duty to communicate.

You have already my opinions and reasonings, on the subject of a treaty with france, in two letters, that I wrote to you, not long after the rising of congress.

The assurances given by the Executive Directory, are as I understand in the very words required by the P—t's declaration. *What, my friend, could have been more soothing, than that a government so haughty & unbending to all besides, should be so compliant and submissive to the dictates of the* GREAT *man, at the head of a great powerful, and independent nation?* This having been communicated from D——y to the ministers, the three senior Secretaries joined in a communication, which without declaring, expressly, an opinion of their own, contained objections to the measure, which to every *ordinary* mind would, probably, have appeared conclusive. To this no answer, either written or verbal, has yet been made. Soon after it was received, the Prest. set out for Trenton, where at that time the public offices were kept, and on his way there he saw the Ch. Justice at Hartford. From him,

* Italics in cipher.

it is understood, the same objections, which were expressed in the Secretaries' communication, or similar ones, were expressed and inferred. To them no answer was made. When he arrived at Trenton, he did not deign to communicate with the Secretaries on the expediency of the measure. The Secretary of State had been previously, or then was, directed to draw up instructions. These, indeed, were submitted to the advice of the P——t's council & approved by it; but the great question was studiously avoided. You know the rest.

In my recluse situation, I cannot say, for I do not know, the *actual* result of the feelings & reasonings of the best friends of the government on this occasion. I know, however, what consequences are to be expected—a total loss of confidence among the best friends of the government, in the wisdom & prudence, of the P——t, a belief that he is influenced by caprice alone, or by the advice of men of intrigue, who have infused into his mind an incurable jealousy of those whom he formerly deemed his best and ablest friends. It is also to be expected that an irreconcilable division will in consequence of this state of things take place among the federalists, the effects of which will be incalculably mischievous; whether as they affect a future election of a P——t, the systems of administration, or what is still, if possible, worse an increase of strength to the opposing faction. The latter has, in some important scenes in the U. S., already obviously taken place. Cool and dispassionate men to this ascribe the election of McKean, (an event most disgraceful to our national character) to the government of Pensyla. It is supposed to have rendered more certain the future election of Monroe to the same office in Virga.; and from the latter State we shall have a Senator Nicholas, a brother of the Representative, a man more dangerous, because of greater ability.

All these things, unpleasant and gloomy, as they are, ought not certainly to produce despair but to stimulate to exertion. The present house of Representatives, in the character of the members, certainly affords a source of consolation. In any events should the Jacobins be unable to procure, for their candidate for the presidency, a majority, a well founded hope may be entertained, that a good decision will be made by the house. But there is reason on the other hand, to fear that the subjects I have already

mentioned, will have a very inauspicious influence, even there. There is, too, another source from which mischief is to be apprehended, of which I am the innocent cause.

As soon as it was known that I was elected a member of the house of Representatives, it was given out that I must be the Speaker. This suggestion was enough to stimulate the opposition to every possible exertion, to defeat the wishes of my friends. It was evident, that if there was a general attendance of the members, an anti could not be chosen. It is said a system has been adopted, which in my opinion, promises them success. They have fixed on their candidate ; and to induce the federalists, from the south, to vote for him, they represent the present as a new england administration, & thereby endeavor to excite jealousy, by taking advantage of local prejudices ; and to counteract the affections of party, they speak of me and my character with respect. It is said that the gentleman, they at present contemplate as the rival candidate, has agreed to be held up ; but as I have ever thought of him with respect and indeed affection, I will not, at present, mention, even to you, his name. This must, of necessity, have an influence on southern Gentlemen, of a certain description ; and should its influence prevail it may add, infinitely, to our embarrassments.

If the real federal majority can act together much may and ought to be done to give efficiency to the government, and to repress the efforts of the Jacobins against it. We ought to spread out the judicial so as to render the justice of the nation acceptable to the people, to aid national economy, to overawe the licentious, and to punish the guilty. We ought to extend protection to commerce by efficient force. We ought to facilitate communication between different parts of the country as well by rendering our roads more safe and practicable, as by the means of canals. And we ought, at the same time, that we promote the real happiness & welfare of the people, to court thereby their favor.

It is a truth, unfortunately, but too evident that faction has, since you left the country, become more persistent & systematic ; and, I believe, its leaders have decided that the duration of the government shall depend on the actual force of its friends & enemies. This appears to me evident from the conduct of the government of Virga. and its satellite Kentucky. With regard to the

former, it has displayed an anxiety to render its militia as formidable as possible, and to supply its arsenals & magazines, and for those purposes it actually imposed a tax on its Citizens.

But I will no longer continue this style of croaking. As soon after the session shall commence as I can form an opinion of our prospects I will detail it to you.

Benson informed me that Mr. Jay, he believed, would decline a future election as Governor. Such is the abuse of every good man who is a candidate for office, that it requires strong nerves indeed to encounter it. I am persuaded that the delicacy and forbearance with which slander has been endured has had a most mischievous effect.

You shall, again, soon hear from

Your affect.

S.

JNO. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, Nov. 16, 1799.

Mr. Trumbull in this letter gives statements in detail of the business which had come before the Commissioners of the 7th Article of the Treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain, and remarks that he trusts

"that the plain result of the whole will be that the Business, so far as it has been suffered to proceed, has not been conducted with negligence or partiality.

"I have seen Dr. Lettsom, who informs me that he has submitted Mr. Webster's work * to the Messrs. Robinson, who are the most liberal Booksellers and Publishers of the present time, that they are pleased with it and regard it as an ingenious and able work; but they offer no more than one hundred Guineas for the copyright—a sum so far below the lowest named by Mr. Webster in

* Mr. King had received from Noah Webster the manuscript of his work on Epidemics, consigned to Messrs. Gore, Trumbull, and King, the receipt of which was acknowledged in a letter from the last dated Sept. 9, 1799. They were asked to make "preliminary enquiries respecting the sale and printing it on his own account." Mr. K., however, declined any ostensible share in the contracts.

The above letter from Col. Trumbull gives the result of the enquiry.

his letter to you, that I presume such a bargain cannot be consented to.

The remaining alternative of causing the Book to be published on his own account does by no means meet the approbation of the Doctor, who says that he speaks from experience when he foretells that it must prove a very injurious enterprise in the low state of public curiosity on the subject treated of and the very high price of material. If therefore Mr. Webster insists upon the publication, the Dr. is persuaded that the best thing which can be done is to accept Mr. Robinson's offer for an edition of 500 copies and that a publication on the author's own account would prove ruinous.

"Will you have the goodness to write decisively to Dr. Lettsom on the subjects or call upon him (which will be a flattering and perhaps not unmerited attention) &c. &c.

"Your faithful servant & friend,

"JNO. TRUMBULL."

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Nov. 18, 1799.

MY LORD:

I have heretofore represented to your Lordship the frequent interruption received by our navigation in the American seas under the Pretext that Bar Iron Nails, Russia Sheeting, and some other articles of innocent merchandize might be considered and treated as Contraband of War. The conferences that I have had with yr. Lordship upon this subject gave me reason to expect that these embarrassments, so detrimental to us, and so little beneficial to others, wd. in future be checked by an explanatory article to our Treaty, that shd. distinctly exclude these articles from the catalogue of Contraband.

But these interruptions instead of ceasing, as we hoped wd. have been the case, have of late been increased and extended: for not only the private armed ships in those seas, but the squadron under Sir H. Parker have together fallen upon our navigation, and a large portion of our ships engaged in the Trade between the U. S. & the Spanish colonies have been seized & their cargoes condemned; as we are informed upon the extraordinary & erroneous pretence that Spain had interdicted the trade of foreigners with her colonies; and this at the same time that numer-

ous adventures to the Spanish colonies, composed in some instances, of the very cargoes taken from the Amers., were undertaken by, & on acct. of British subjects residing in the Islands to which the Amern. ships were sent for adjudication.

We are ignorant whether orders have been given that can in any degree countenance these ruinous depredations, or whether they proceed from some less excusable motive on the part of the captors: it is our inclination to believe that no such orders have been given, but the effect is nearly the same on either hypothesis, as the great loss by the disadvantageous sale of our Cargoes under the Decrees of the Provincial Courts of Admiralty, joined to the time & expense requisite to bring to an issue our claims before the Court of Appeals, produce a result that in a plurality of cases makes it a measure of prudence to abandon our Property instead of pursuing the remedy that is held forth to us.

It is my duty to complain to yr. Ldp. of the injury, that under color of his Majesty's authority, is thus committed upon the citizens of a country that has given, and continues to give, unequivocal proofs of a sincere desire to live in friendship with G. Britain, & in doing so I am anxious to press upon your Ldp.'s consideration the uneasiness & dissatisfaction so unfavorable to the intercourse & harmony between our respective countries, that must, & especially at the present moment of commercial embarrassment, proceed from losses so unexpected and considerable.

Your Ldp. will, I persuade myself, order the complaint to be investigated without Delay, & so unjustifiable has been the conduct of the Captors, that I flatter myself that not only a prompt & adequate remedy will be afforded to the sufferers, but moreover that such precise instructions will be given as shall secure us against the like injuries hereafter.

I have the honor to be &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 55.

LONDON, Dec. 2, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

The late Revolution at Paris meets with as little opposition as any of those that have preceded it, & seems to differ in nothing from them, except that no royal conspiracy has been denounced in

its justification ; the soldiery has been more openly caressed, & a more undisguised contempt has been shown for the degraded Nation, that has been so long and so cruelly the victim of political experiments.

On the arrival of the October Packet, I went to the office of foreign affairs & requested the under Secretary Mr. Frere to inform Lord Grenville that I had been disappointed in not receiving my instructions respecting the suspension of the commission at Philada ; & that I ascribed the Delay to the interruption that had arisen from the reappearance of the Fever there, which had obliged the officers of Govt., with the other inhabitants to remove into the country. As this suspension is the effect of the secession of our Commrs. I concluded that you would be anxious that no time should be lost in the explanation of our motives, & I therefore thought it adviseable to suggest what I conceived to be the occasion of the Delay. On this account as well as because the present time *has appeared to me not unfavorable* * I think *it is to be regretted* that you are not likely to receive the report of Messrs. Fitzsimons & Sitgreaves in season to send before the sailing of the Packet of the present month, which will not arrive before Feby. *when the Govt. will be* busily employed *in preparations for the next campaign and* for that reason *will be less patient in the* examination of any propositions *we may have to* submit to its consideration.

On the 15th of last month several private letters were received by a ship that left Boston on the 20th of October, all of which agreed in stating *that the President had suspended the mission to France.* After a short consideration of the subject it appeared to me to be a measure that might possibly be *turned to advantage* in regard to our situation *with England* & under this impression I decided to go immediately *to Lord Grenville,* whom I had not seen except at St. James' *since the Conference reported* in the P.S. of my No. 51. *His Ldp.* was at home received me immediately *& with marks of cordiality.* Without preface I communicated to him the information that I had just received, remarking that the measure was not only of consequence to us, but in my eyes of great importance *to Eng. & her Allies. His Ldp.* fully assented to this observation & expressed his satisfaction in receiving the intelligence. I then added that I wd. without reserve explain the

* Italics in cipher.

motives which had induced me to make this communication. It was a gross error to suppose that the People of the United States were attached either to England or to France, but it was certainly true that in reference to our own Interests, we were not unanimous in the opinion that an intimate commercial connexion with England was under all its circumstances more advantageous than a connexion with France, and as these are the two most important Nations of Europe, especially in a commercial sense, the only one that could have much influence upon our foreign Politics, no measure of our Govt. tending to increase or diminish our commerce with either of them could pass without the most scrupulous examination, nor without being made the occasion of a comparison between the injuries, as well as the benefits, received from each.

I was therefore persuaded *that the suspension of the Mission to France* wd. produce a fresh discussion upon this subject, when our just complaints against the naval officers of G. Britain on account of their impressment of & cruelty towards our seamen, as well as for their late depredations upon our Trade in the American seas, would unavoidably have a very considerable influence upon the public opinion of the United States; that I might mention other topics that would invite discussion, and had not *his Ldp.* lately expressed himself as strongly as he had done with respect to the Commission at Philada., I should have been inclined to have represented the great &, as we believed, unremitted inconvenience proceeding from the suspension of the Commission here because that at Philada had been stopped in consequence of the indefensible conduct of the English Commrs; that I would however say nothing on that head, as I had not yet received my instructions. But if the representation that I had just made appeared *to his Ldp.* of the same importance as it did to me, I should hope that immediate measures would be taken not only to do us effectual justice for the past, but moreover to secure us against a repetition of the injuries we have so often sustained. Justice was of perpetual obligation, but there were times when those who render it may be benefited even beyond the ordinary recompense that follows the performance of a duty, and the present in my view was such an occasion.

Ld. Grenville after a few observations of a tenor to persuade

me, he placed a proper value upon the friendship of the United States, & that he should always be inclined to remove as well as to avoid occasions of misunderstanding replyd, that there were very few subjects upon which he wd. say that he might not alter his opinion, but that he could not help avowing that it seemed very unlikely that he should adopt the sentiments I had just expressed respecting the two Commissions. At present he knew not what we should have to propose; possibly the return of one of their Commrs. from Philada. might facilitate the Business. With regard to the Impressment of our seamen, he perceived that an old controversy had been revived between their Admirals & the Colonial Courts, & that we had named an agent at Jamaica for the Protection of our seamen, a measure considering its innovation upon the Colonial system, that could not be thought of any validity without his Majesty's consent. These remarks led to a short conversation that turned upon the points discussed in my late note upon this subject, & ended by *his Ldp's* acquiescence in the opinion that a special convention could alone secure the respective Rights of the two countries.

His Ldp. to my surprise then added that he had not before heard of the late captures in the West Indies to which I had alluded. I restated the nature & extent of these depredations, and complained of the countenance & encouragement they had received from the Commander in chief Sir H. Parker. *His Ldp.* asked me if I had any official information on this subject: I replied in the affirmative & that I would send *his* Ldp. a note, complaining of these excesses, if I might expect an answer that would afford us Hope of redress. His Ldp. said if I would send him such a note he would immediately institute an enquiry into the complaint.

I accordingly sent the note, a copy of which is annexed. I have not yet received an answer. The note from Ld. Grenville, a copy of which is subjoined, notifies the discontinuance of the Blockade of the Dutch Ports.

With perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XI.

Sedgwick to King—Bad Effect of possible Disbandment of the Army—Loan would be necessary to maintain it and increase the Navy—Next presidential Election—Confidence that Federalists will succeed—King to Secretary of State—Threatened Withdrawal of Russian Troops—Want of Confidence in the Austrians—Russia makes Treaty with Denmark, etc.—What Effect will this have on American Commerce with France? and with the Conduct of England—Restoration of Commerce with France may help Negotiations in England—Make her restrain Abuses—Consider stopping Impressment—King to Troup—Consuls named Talleyrand to meet the Envoys—Louis XVII.—King to H. Grant relative to the Capture of the *Woodrop Sims* with U. S. Arms on Board by the French—To Comte Wedel Jarlsberg—Laws of the U. S. relative to Inheritances—To N. Low—Recommendation of B. Dandridge in business Relations—Sedgwick to King—Death of General Washington—Shall the Army continue to be recruited—If Treaty with France made, it would be disbanded—President will probably be authorized to stop Enlistments—General Marshall is much relied on—Sedgwick hopes no Treaty with France will be made—King to O. Wolcott—Many Embarrassments in England cause Stagnation in Business—No Peace probable—King to Pickering—Little Probability of Peace—The Effect of the Mission—Should it succeed, England and Russia would probably be offended—New French Constitution accepted by the People.

T. Sedgwick to R. King.

Philadelphia 12th Dec. 1799.

Dear Sir :

At present parties have not assumed a shape—The federal nerve seems to have become palsied by the mission to france, and there is real cause to apprehend that good men may be misled. The great effort will be made against the army. Should it be disbanded we shall send home, as many, with few exceptions, active & resentful agents to disseminate discord, as there are persons that at present compose it. On the other hand good men,

in New England, where tranquility generally prevails, can not easily be led to understand, for what purposes the Army can be necessary, provided a peace be made with france. The existence of the army, too, by the terms of inlistment will terminate, "with the differences between the U. S. & france." Indeed the Army could not have been carried, in the house of Representatives, on any other terms. To continue it beyond that period, therefore, a new inlistment will be necessary. This will not, probably, be so difficult with the Jacobins, as with the Legislature. But as to disband the army would at the present time be extremely dangerous, if not absolutely ruinous, it must, if possible, be prevented.

By the best information I can obtain from the Secy. of the Treasury, a loan will be necessary to the amount of very nearly 5,000,000 dollars, provided we maintain the Army in its present numbers, between, I suppose 5 & 6000, exclusive of the old establishment, & progress, as has been contemplated, by law, in the increase of our Navy. A loan cannot be had, without letting in foreign competition, under eight per cent interest, nor at that with the same alacrity as the last. The fact is, that many of the subscribers to the last loan lost by it—The avidity to subscribe was such that many without the means of paying the instalments were induced to adventure; the consequence was that the stock was brought into the market, and, in some instances, sold at a discount. This evil was foreseen, but at that time, it was said, could not be prevented for want of time. At present that species of stock is two or three percent above par. The loan, therefore, can probably, be had, on the same terms ; but if a stock of three per cent is created much more money can be obtained, for the same annuity. And this for myself I should much prefer. But on whatever terms the loan is to be made, the practise in G. Britain of receiving proposals, is greatly preferable, to an indiscriminate offer to every body.

In all our measures, we must never lose sight, of the next election of President. In Virginia, the election will, doubtless, be by the people & by a general ticket. Altho' several of our friends, in that state tell us that this will be so unpopular, that the federal interest will prevail, yet, I confess this is an event, for which I cannot form the faintest hope. It is to my mind probable, that

No. Carolina will follow the example of Virginia & in that case, I expect all the votes again against us. In this State there is no existing Law, and no election, you know, can be made without one; and the best men here tell us, that none unfavorable to the federal interest will be assented to in the Senate, where the majority is not only considerable, in point of numbers, but in character firm & decided. On the whole I have, notwithstanding the gloominess of the prospect, much confidence that we shall prevail. From hence to the eastward we expect the votes will be nearly unanimous, not probably for any *two*, but against the one whom we all dread; and if his election by the electors can be prevented, we may place, I think, the utmost confidence, in the house of Representatives.—In Maryland & Georgia we shall have several votes, and S. Carolina & Delaware all.

I will write to you again in a few days, and as soon as a reasonable conjecture can be formed of the system which will be pursued. . . .

I am sincerely yours

T. S.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 56.

LONDON, Dec. 14, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

The publication of Suwarrow's dispatches in the Gazette of Petersburgh confirms in the fullest extent the rumours that of late have been circulated of the jealousy & misunderstanding that have for some time existed between the two Imperial armies. It is believed that in consequence of Suwarrow's reports, the Emperor of Russia has sent him orders to return home with his army. Means have been found to delay the execution of this measure, *and Engd. is active in her endeavours as well to prevent the** retreat of the Russians as to soften & explain *at Vienna the indiscreet publication of* Suwarrow's dispatches. *In the first she will* succeed, but as this open rupture embittered *by the reproach upon the Austrians contained in the Ukase*, appointing Suwarrow Gen-

* Italics in cipher.

eralissimo, offers new means of negotiation *to the French, as the English Cabinet is not* supposed to have much influence *at Vienna*, great anxiety exists lest *Austria shd. again* conclude a separate Peace. Since the late Resolution at Paris, & immediately *before the intemperate* expression *of the* dissatisfaction *of Russia, the cabinet of Vienna* gave explicit assurance *to the English Ambassador that* it had no intention of negotiation, *and the Ambassador* added to this information his own opinion that it might be relied upon. It will however be very difficult after what has happened to re-establish confidence or even harmony between the Austrians & Russians ; and if neither withdraw, it will be necessary that they should act separately. England is firm in her resolution to continue the war, and she will use all the means in her power to put in execution against France the plan in respect to Commerce, that France has been desirous to see enforced against her. It is with this view chiefly that Engd. & Russia have at length concluded a Treaty with Denmark, which engages that Power in the war against France. *Russia* is negotiating at Stockholm, & since the Treaty with Denmark will be more likely to draw Sweden also into the coalition. The positive aid to be derived by the allies from these two Kingdoms must be inconsiderable ; but the withdrawing their ships from the French Ports will affect France as well in the sale of her productions, as in the purchase of various supplies, & especially of naval Stores.

Important reflections in respect to the United States arise out of this probable state of Europe. If an uninterrupted commercial intercourse between the U. S. & France could be established, the advantage expected by the allies from the coalition of Denmark & Sweden would essentially fail, inasmuch as the navigation of the U. S. is superior to that of Denmark & Sweden together. The loss of the Danish & Swedish Flags & markets will naturally increase the desire of regaining those of the U. States, & may lead the Provisional Govt. to employ plausible & even earnest & direct measures to remove the misunderstanding between the two Countries. You are much more able than I am to decide how far the restoration of the former commercial & political intercourse will be likely to increase the prosperity of our commerce, or the stability of our Govt. upon the supposition even that England would take no new measure to disturb our

trade. I do not feel authorized to express a distinct opinion upon either of these topics, tho' the best information which I have been able to collect in regard to the trade of Denmark & Sweden with France, since our absence from the French markets, *has given me no very favourable opinion of the French trade* in its present exhausted *and* precarious *State.* But the subject merits consideration in another point of view, and without giving you the trouble of reading a dissertation explanatory of the reasons of my Belief, I will only express my entire persuasion founded upon the efforts that have been made to engage Denmark & Sweden in the coalition, the temper that appeared upon the news of the last nomination of Envoys to France, the opinion openly avowed that Engd. fights for existence, & that the present differs from all preceding, and *that our* reconciliation *with France wd. be* followed *by an* almost indiscriminate capture *of our ships trading with the French* Dominions, a reconciliation *with France will* according to this opinion *be the signal for a rupture with England, for I* presume *that we shd. no more* acquiesce in the lawless depredations *of the one than of the other.* If we remain *as we are* or go farther *& place* ourselves in a formal state of war, the English will without doubt treat the trade *between the* Hanse Towns *& France with very little* ceremony. It is possible that the interest of *Engd, as well in the* reservation of *her own connexion with us as in the prevention of that of France,* may inspire its Cabinet with greater *moderation in* regard to the several important subjects that must ere long become matters of serious discussion ; *and if we decline to renew our Connexion with France, ought we not to avail* ourselves of the *occasion to restrain if possible* the abuses *we have so long sustained in the* impressment *of our seamen and the illegal capture &* condemnation *of our ships.* I have lately submitted to you my opinion upon the obstinacy & extent of these Evils. The latter might in a good measure be cured by *a reform in the English system of Prize courts, a reform* that any friendly nation has a just right to demand ; for the former a remedy is in our own hands, tho' we may have various scruples against using it ; *when we* adopt the practice of impressing seamen *for our navy, Engd. will agree with us in a reasonable convention by which the rights of both shall be* respected. And why should *we not* by law under just limitations authorize the impress-

ment of seamen? *We and other nations have* impressed, and from the main end of society all have a right to compel their People to serve in the army, & on the like principle to serve in the navy. Besides we are a commercial nation & *must* consequently build and support a navy. No nation ever did or can man its navy at a rate of wages arising from an unlimited competition among private adventurers & between them & the nation. *The wages we now give is double to those given by any other nation*, and would consequently *pay double the number of* seamen in any other service. This may now appear heresy, but it is what we shall believe & practice the first considerable war in which we are engaged.

With perfect respect & esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

Dec. 14, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

If any one finds fault with the President for suspending the Mission to France, tell them that the Consuls (for I suppose that you know that the Directors have been turned out of the Luxemburg) hearing that our Envoys were on their way named Talleyrand to the office of forn. affairs to receive them. The newspapers are filled with accounts of the Jealousy and Misunderstanding between the two imperial armies, & that the Russians are going home. The first part of these accounts is but too true but I do not believe the latter, &c. . . .

Denmark has joined the coalition, and negotiations are going on at Stockholm & Petersburg to induce Sweden likewise to come in. If these powers range themselves on the side of the allies, and we continue to interdict commercial intercourse with France, the Hanse Towns will alone send ships to France, which the English, if I am not mistaken, will treat with very little Ceremony and with precisely the same freedom that they will use towards our ships in case a Reconciliation takes place between us & the Consuls.

We are all amusing ourselves with the last news from Paris, which states that the Dauphin Louis XVII., who was believed to

have died in the Temple in June 1795, is living; having been saved by Siéyes who substituted from one of the public Hospitals a child of corresponding age, incurably affected with the Scrofula, and that the Consuls have resolved, being tired of the tragi-comedy that they have been playing, to restore the young King to the throne of his Fathers. R. K.

R. KING TO HARRY GRANT, ESQ., AMERICA SQUARE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Dec. 15, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

My first inclination upon the news of the capture of the Woodrop Sims was to transmit to our Consul at Bordeaux authentic proofs that the 1500 muskets on board her had been shipped by my order. A little consideration has shewn me that I should perhaps have compromitted our Government as well as myself by that step.

A public Law of France authorized the capture & condemnation of all property, produced or manufactured in the Br. Territories; on account of this and other unjust Laws, the U. S. have authorized the capture & condemnation of all French armed vessels & their cargoes; and we have actually taken a French national frigate, that is now in our service. In this condition of the two countries, it may be doubted whether the U. S. could without impropriety ask or accept even the restoration of their property taken in the Woodrop Sims; at any rate it would appear officious in me should I take the decision of so important a question into my own hands.

I have therefore concluded to observe that reserve upon this subject that belongs to my limited authority, leaving it to those who alone have the power to settle when & in such manner as they may think proper, the misunderstanding between the two countries.

In following this course I know I do my duty; in the other I may not only fall into errors myself, but be the occasion of leading others astray. You cannot doubt that I should be zealous to promote your interest, and I believe you will be the first to acquiesce in the sentiments I have just expressed.

Sincerely & with much regard &c.

R. KING.

R. KING TO COUNT DE WEDEL JARLSBERG.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, December 18, 1799

SIR:

I have had the honor to receive your Letter of the 16th instant, stating the application of certain inhabitants of the United States to be freed from the Tax established in Denmark upon Inheritances removed into foreign Countries; & desiring to be informed what are the Laws of the United States in analogous cases. I hasten to reply that no such Tax exists within the United States, and that all foreigners may demand & remove at pleasure, and that free of any Tax or deduction, all Personal Property to which they may be entitled as the next of kin, or as the Legatee of any person dying within the U. States.

Personal Property includes every species of Property except Houses & Lands; which cannot pass by inheritance or testamentary devise to an alien. But those who desire that their Property in Houses & Lands should pass to aliens, may by testament authorize their executors to sell the same and pay the proceeds to such aliens as are named in their last Testament; and in this way Estates of every sort may be passed into the possession & enjoyment of aliens, free of every restraint & deduction.

The Laws of the United States upon this subject are precisely those of England, which are probably well understood in Denmark.

With perfect consideration &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO N. LOW.

LONDON, Dec. 20, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

Mr. B. Dandridge, who has been for some time my Secretary and whom you may remember in the same capacity with his relation Genl. Washington, after consulting his friends and acquaintances, has determined to settle at New York as a merchant. He will probably arrive there in one of the spring ships with three or four thousand pounds worth of English goods with which he proposes to begin. . . . At first he will stand in need of the service and support of men of experience and credit and without introducing him to many persons for these purposes, I have given him letters to you and to Mr. J. Waddington, believing that both

of you will be disposed at my desire to afford to Mr. Dandridge, for whom I have a real friendship and in whose prosperity I feel a sincere concern, all the countenance and assistance that his honor and integrity so eminently deserve. . . . You cannot confer upon me a greater proof of friendship than in fulfilling my earnest recommendation in favor of Mr. Dandridge, who to the most correct principles unites a mildness of temper and manner that must every where engage the confidence and esteem of those who have the satisfaction of knowing him.

With respect and regard, &c.

RUFUS KING.

T. SEDGWICK TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 29, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR:

The lamentable event, of General Washington's death, is marked with more regrets, and deeper sorrow, than any which have taken place since I have been on the stage; yet it will not be uncandid to say, that in the leaders of the opposition, it has produced sentiments of a very different & opposite Kind. On this subject your own mind, from a knowledge of our affairs, will afford materials for reflection. It will probably accelerate the crisis which I believe to be unavoidable.

The federal part of the house will, I think, be brought to act together; but to produce this union of action, there must, I fear, be a sacrifice of the opinions of some, whom I deem among the best and most enlightened men of our Country. The question of most delicacy which has hitherto pressed us is what shall be done with the Army? The new raised twelve regiments are about three fifths full according to the best information I can obtain. The term of their inlistment is *during the existing differences with France.* Shall we continue to recruit, in these terms, at a considerable expense when it is probable that a treaty will soon disband them? Shall we endeavor a reinlistment for a definite period, by giving an additional bounty? Should a treaty be formed, may not the resentment, excited by a supposed sympathy of our Country & government with france, render troops as necessary, for other purposes, as it was supposed they would have been against France? Is it consistent with the duty of the guardians

of the public safety to provide no force against that spirit of turbulent ambition, which menaces & defies, in undisguised language, the national Government? This subject suggests these & innumerable other highly, if not equally, important questions. The result of all will be that we shall soon—be not astonished,—authorize the President to suspend further inlistments; and we shall do—nothing else. On much investigation I am persuaded this is the case at present, nor do I expect, unless some new object should arise, that we shall at all be able to do anything much better. We are told,—&, I suppose, truly—that the army everywhere to the southward is very unpopular, and is growing, daily, more so. That it is represented as intended to destroy republican liberty, & to establish monarchy, and that these representations are not ineffectual.

I have been much in Company with General Marshall since we arrived in this City. He possesses great powers and has much dexterity in the application of them. He is highly & deservedly respected by the friends of the Government from the South. In short we can do nothing without him. I believe his intentions are perfectly honorable, & yet I do believe he would have been a more decided man had his education been on the other side of the Delaware, and he the immediate representative of that country.

The late reverses of fortune in Europe have, as you may well suppose, had considerable effect on the spirits of the parties in this country; and while you would not, probably, have so readily believed, they are rendering the late mission to france popular. This is a very unpleasant indication of a want of national spirit, or, if you please, national pride. What are we to think of the late events? Is jealousy shedding its baleful influences among the members of the coalition? Was the Arch Duke outgeneraled, or was he, as is suggested, commanded to give way to Suwarrow, that he might have the glory of beating Massena? To what was owing the defeat of the Project in Holland? From those disasters I derive one consolation—a hope that they may defeat a treaty which, should it be made, whatever may be its terms, will be as mischievous as its commencement was unwise—and mischievous as in the terms of it liberal on the part of france.

Yours sincerely, T. S.

R. King to Oliver Wolcott.

London, Dec. 31, 1799.

Dear Sir :

I took an early occasion after the receit of your letter of the 4th of October to mention its contents to Mr. Pitt, who appeared to think that your views in the main agreed with his, and desired me to give him the earliest information of the result of such propositions as you should make to Congress. In consequence of the pecuniary embarrassment arising in part from the fall in the prices of West India Productions, the Law that took off the Drawback on Sugar and Coffee was during the last session of Parliament suspended for a year. Should the embarrassment continue, as is not improbable, it will be requisite to prolong this suspension. Notwithstanding the *unexampled* liberality of the Bank in its discounts, the Permission to bond the duties on Sugar, Coffee, &c., instead of paying them as formerly, at the time of entry, and the reestablishment of the Drawback, the difficulties among Commercial men are extensive & serious. The early & severe setting in of the Frost, which has totally cut off the Trade to Hamburgh, and which impedes that of Holland, has added to the distress, that will scarcely be removed before the disappointments expected in the remittances from America, will begin to be felt ; so that whatever the commercial difficulties may now be, it is apprehended that they may be still greater towards midsummer. With all the management of Govt., the necessary collection of money to pay the half-yearly dividends, is supposed considerably to affect the circulation, and united with other occasional causes, produces a periodical stagnation, that excites inquietude, as well as impairs the general Prosperity. This evil increases with the increase of the public debt, and in the eyes of some speculative men is already formidable.

My persuasion is that no Peace will be made this winter, and that the next campaign will be as vigorous & bloody as the last. I hope the Washington, in which as I informed you in my letter of the 7th of September we have 2000 muskets, & some other articles of public property may arrive safe. The Woodrop Sims in which as I also informed you in my Letter of the 7th of Sept., we had 1500 muskets with two or three Boxes, containing the

Dies of the Indian medals, ordered by Col. McHenry, some books, charts & a few other small articles, has been taken & carried to Bordeaux.

With sincere Regards &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.
(*Private.*)

LONDON, Dec. 31, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I have no letters from you later than the 4th of October. The frost has for the last fortnight cut off our communication with Hamburgh, so that we are indebted lately to the French papers for continental intelligence. From those even which give us the last edition of the Constitution with the names of those who are to administer it, we are the more disposed to believe that there is little probability of Peace between France and any of the allies. Bonaparte is pledged by his revolutionary harangues to give Peace to France, & he will without doubt make overtures to the allies, which agreeing neither with his, nor with their situation, will prove abortive. But what will the admirers of French Liberty say of the new Charter at length devised for its security? Those who excused the atrocities of R. will be at no loss for reasons, good or bad, & it matters not which, on the present occasion.

You will have observed that I fully believed the report of the Suspension of the Mission to France. Your letter of the 4th of Oct. strengthened this opinion. It seems that I have been mistaken. If the envoys have arrived, it will not, I presume, be long before their success or failure be known. Should they succeed, you know what I am inclined to think likely to be the conduct of this country, & it would surprize no one should Russia adopt a similar proceeding towards us, as a few months since she adopted towards Denmark & Hamburgh.

The French Govt. has two powerful motives to reconcile America. The first to obtain the aid of its Flag, the second, to embroil us with England. Still there are intrinsic difficulties in the negotiation, besides the Pride that must be eaten up.

Mr. Dandridge who for some time has been with me as my Secretary, has decided to engage in Trade. He is preparing a

quantity of goods with which he proposes to embark in one of the early Spring ships for New York ; this has made a vacancy for your son, who has consented to succeed Mr. Dandridge.

With sincere Regards, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 57.

LONDON, Dec. 31, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

The new French Constitution was put in operation on the 25th. The people are said to have rivalled the discipline of the armies in their obedient acceptance of this new Charter of Liberty. The Provisional Govt. repealed on the 20 inst. the Law of the 29. Nivose 6th year (18th January 1798) & declared that the regulations of 1778 in respect to the Rights of Belligerents & neutrals should in future be strictly observed.

The probabilities of a continuance of the war between all the Powers at present engaged in it, have gained strength within the last month. The Proclamations of the chief Consul since his installation, afford no consolation to the anxious expectants of Peace ; & everywhere the most active preparations are making for the ensuing Campaign. The last French papers assure us that our Convoys have arrived, and some recent accounts from America add considerable credit to this intelligence. . . .

With perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XII.

Condition of European Countries in the Beginning of 1800—Its Relation to the United States—Troup to King—Death of Washington—Plans for honoring his Memory in New York—Oration to be pronounced by G. Morris—A cold historical Narrative—Nothing to move the Feelings—General Mourning—Pickering to King—President will send Mr. Sitgreaves to England about the Interruption of the Commission under the 6th Article—Might not be acceptable to Mr. King—Mr. Sitgreaves's Position—Hamilton to King—Shall the Friends of the Government risk Schism by Attempt to change—Mass of the People want Peace—He wants the Navy increased—Renewed Animosity to England—King to Lord Grenville—No Instructions yet relative to Suspension of Commission under 6th Article—Lord Grenville to King, inclosing Dispatch from Liston and an Article from Pickering to Peter Porcupine justifying the Conduct of the American Commissioners—Requires King not to allow the former to go beyond himself—King to Lord Grenville—Answer to him and justifying his Course in freely communicating with his own Government, though Prudence should be exercised in publishing Information.—Delay in sending King Instructions not for Delay's Sake—Not to await Arrival of the Envoys—Warmly justifies his own Government.

The beginning of the year 1800 exhibited a very complicated condition of affairs both on the continent of Europe and in England, which had, as has been and will be seen in the correspondence, a serious influence upon the status of the United States with the two leading powers, France and England, in their diplomatic relations. The return of Bonaparte from Egypt, the ascendency he had obtained in France, overthrowing the Directory and establishing a new constitution, under which the consular government, with himself as first Consul, had given new vigor to the Government, and the successes of the French arms in Switzerlan l

and in other quarters, had emboldened France to continue the war against England and the Allies. Money alone was wanting to carry out its plans, and that was hard to get, and as France stood alone to resist the pressure against it, it is not to be wondered at that the opportunity was taken through the mission from the United States, unwisely sent by the President, as was then generally thought, to endeavor to recover the amicable relations with that country, with which all commercial intercourse had been stopped, to reopen the French ports to commerce, and to endeavor to enlist the United States against England, because of the very natural feeling of anger at her refusal to remedy the just claims made upon the British Government.

It has been seen with what urgency and unanswerable arguments Mr. King had, by the direction of his government, appealed for a fair hearing and a decision of the important points at issue with England; how this had been postponed or denied; and how he had communicated his belief that that government was not disposed to make any settlement, as he had lost confidence in their desire or intention to do justice to the claims made upon them. The interruption of the proceedings of the Commission at Philadelphia, under the 6th Article of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, afforded a pretence for most unworthy charges against the character of the American Government, which were promptly and indignantly denied by Mr. King, and now the mission to France, it was feared, would give color to a charge that it was the intention to foster French commerce to the injury of that of England, and was therefore an inimical act which England would resent against the United States, and thus check every amicable settlement of claims.

It will readily be seen that there were many causes for anxiety on the part of Mr. King, in dealing with this complicated condition of the relations of the European countries, and especially as affected by what his friends in the United States considered the unwise course of the President,

who would not listen to advice and alienated the best friends of the country. His own duty was a plain one to insist firmly upon the rights of that country—especially as his government never faltered in the determination to obtain them—a conduct which won their approbation, while it increased his influence with the British Minister.

It may be here noticed that the Allies on the Continent opposed to France were, as it would seem, hopelessly embittered against each other and that unity of action was for the time arrested. Russia had withdrawn her troops, or was doing so, from co-operation with Austria in Italy and Switzerland, but she had made treaties with Sweden and Norway and Denmark, by which these countries could no longer supply the French, which they had done, as neutrals; and Prussia still continued to hold herself aloof from any connection with France or the Allies. France was, under the new regime, doing what she could to recover her losses on the battle-field. The United States was the only country from which she could look for help, and therefore she seemed to be anxious to receive the new Envoys with an apparent change of policy in shaping her commercial relations with that country, and England, looked with unfavorable eyes upon the possible making of a new treaty with France, which would virtually interfere with the advantageous commerce, which her position, as well as other reasons, seemed to warrant her to consider properly her own.

This summary of the existing and possible change of affairs in Europe will show the difficulties which might, and did, embarrass the American Minister in pushing the interests of his own country, without estranging the good-will of England, and embroiling the United States in her hostile measures against France. It required an amount of tact and good judgment, which the following correspondence will show was not wanting on his part.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, January 1, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR :

Since my last letter to you, we have been so unfortunate as to lose our good and great General Washington. He died on the 14th ult. of an inflammation in his throat owing to a cold he had taken. His illness lasted but about 24 hours and during the whole time he was perfectly possessed of his senses, calm and resigned. . . . No man, who was not amongst us when his death was announced, can realize the profound grief which the mournful event universally occasioned. The emotions in every breast, too big for utterance, held the mind for some time in a state of complete inactivity. All business was suspended and the only object of attention after the mind recovered its usual tone, was the manner of paying suitable honor to the memory of the illustrious founder of our Empire.

We soon had the public well collected and the result was the appointment of a general committee with plenary powers to form a plan and carry it into effect. The plan was a grand civil and military procession to be concluded by a funeral oration to be delivered by Gouverneur Morris, and yesterday was the day on which the affecting tragedy was acted. . . . The awful grandeur of the scene—the heartrending notes of the musick—the melancholy sound of the bells—the tears which were constantly flowing from every eye—What shall I say? The subject overwhelms me, and I have not words to express my feelings.

At church, where the oration was pronounced, we had a short but excellent prayer from Bishop Provoost. When Mr. Morris rose to speak, all was profound silence! Perhaps upon no occasion was more expected from an orator than was expected from Mr. Morris on the mournful event he was to commemorate. Had ever an orator a sublimer theme for the display of his eloquence? No—And yet, my good friend, I left the church a most mortified and wounded man! Not a tear was compelled to roll! hardly was a sigh excited! The oration, take the toute ensemble, had the effect of a cold historical narrative, not that of a warm and impassioned address. . . . I give you this character of the oration merely from my feelings. . . . I have no doubt however that when the oration comes to be read, it will be found to

contain good sense clothed in very classical language. The whole city, except amongst our particular friends is expressing its disappointment. Such a failure will be apt to deter others from making attempts hereafter! Indeed for various reasons the misfortune is to be deplored. I give this account *merely for your own use.* It would be a source of deep regret to me to hear that I had given currency to a report injurious to Mr. Morris' talents. I have a great respect for them, and I have always esteemed his virtues. . . . The whole nation at present exhibits all the symbols and badges of grief. Our churches are all hung with black cloth, and our bells have long been muffled. The tongue of envy and malice is dumb—and not a word and not a whisper is heard from any mouth but in the General's praise. . . .

Jefferson has just arrived in Philadelphia. He has taken care to avoid all ceremonies of respect to the memory of General Washington. . . . Burr appeared to take no part in our late honors to the memory of General Washington,

Yours,

R. T.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

(*Private.*)

PHILADELPHIA, January 3, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

My official letter of the 31st ulto. announces the determination of the President that Mr. Sitgreaves should go to London. The idea was suggested by his colleague, Mr. Fitzsimons. It struck me agreeably, and I mentioned it to the President, who said he would consider of it. The same evening at his house, Mr. Sitgreaves being present, the President mentioned the proposition of his going to London, and expressed strongly his approbation. This was unexpected—for if any one of the heads of Departments (all were present) was of a different opinion, it could not well have been expressed. Today Mr. Wolcott, upon my speaking of the project manifested his fears of the consequences. He apprehended that it might not be grateful to you; and that Mr. Sitgreaves himself, seeing he could appear only as a private American citizen, would eventually be dissatisfied. That Mr. Macdonald would of course return to London, and that the pres-

ence of him and Mr. Sitgreaves might produce there the like feuds, as unhappily existed in the Board.

These could be real evils, and I shall be extremely pained, if either of them should flow from Mr. Sitgreaves' voyage to London. If you were a subordinate diplomatic character, the surmise would not be unnatural that Mr. Sitgreaves was sent to supply your defects. But your superior talents, well known among all the public men in London, and universally acknowledged in your own country, must repel every idea of the kind; and it appears to me impossible that the mission of Mr. Sitgreaves should derogate from your dignity and well-established fame. On the contrary, I conceived that Mr. Sitgreaves might greatly lessen your labour in the investigation of a subject incumbered with a load of papers and that as you were personally acquainted with him, and could justly appreciate his talents, the information to be derived from his conversation would be as grateful as useful.

With respect to Mr. Sitgreaves himself, he perfectly understands the character in which he is to appear—*that of a private American Citizen*, and that as such only you will introduce him wherever you accompany him.

To prevent collision between him and Mr. Macdonald, they need never see each other. But if their several communications to their respective Ministers are to produce dissension, doubtless Mr. Macdonald's letters have already laid the foundation for it: doubtless they may already have produced prejudices injurious at least to the American Commissioners, if not to the Government and Nation. In this point of view, I thought it of some importance that particular accusations or reproaches might receive a contradiction from a Member as well informed and as worthy of credit; for it would be impracticable for you to send to America for this reputation. Not that I suppose *you* would ever start any subject of altercation, or engage in any discussion not regularly connected with the questions of negotiation; and certainly Lord Grenville and you will not suffer any personal animosities of those two Commissioners to disturb the tranquillity of your conferences, or to affect the amity subsisting between the two nations. Mr. Sitgreaves' presence by enabling you to give the other side of every question, and to remove prejudices ought to promote and secure, instead of hazarding the existing friendship

I hope these ideas are not visionary; but however you may view this measure, I trust you will believe in the purity of my intentions, and that I am and ever shall be desirous of maintaining the honour and respect to which your character justly entitles you and with which

I remain, sincerely your friend & ob. Servt.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.*

NEW YORK, Jany. 5, 1800.

It is indeed a long time, my dear Sir, since I have written to you, and I feel my obligation to you for the continuance of your correspondence, notwithstanding my delinquency.

Had it been true that I had left everything else to follow the drum, my delinquency would not have been so great. But our military establishment offers too little inducement, and is too precarious to have permitted a total dereliction of professional pursuits. The double occupation occasioned by these added military duties, and the attention which circumstances call me to pay to collateral objects, engage my time more than ever, and leave me less leisure to communicate with distant friends. . . I must however, give you some sketch of our affairs. At home everything is in the main well; except as to the perverseness and capriciousness of one and the spirit of faction of many. Our measures from the first cause are too much the effect of momentary impulse. Vanity and jealousy exclude all counsel. Passion wrests the helm from reason.

The irreparable loss of an estimable man removes the control that was felt, and was very salutary.

The leading friends of the government, are in a sad dilemma. Shall they risk a serious schism by an attempt to change? Or shall they annihilate themselves and hazard their cause by continuing to uphold those who suspect and hate them, and who are likely to pursue a course for no better reason than because it is contrary to that which they approve?

The spirit of faction is abated nowhere. In Virginia it is more violent than ever. It seems demonstrated that the leaders there,

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 416.

who possess completely all the powers of the local government, are resolved to possess those of the national, by the most dangerous combinations ; and, if they cannot effect this, to resort to the employment of physical force. The want of disposition in the people to second them, will be the only preventive. It is believed that it will be an effectual one.

In the two houses of Congress we have a decided majority. But the dread of unpopularity is likely to paralyze it, and to prevent the erection of additional buttresses to the constitution, a fabric which can hardly be stationary, and which will retrograde if it cannot be made to advance.

In the mass of the people the dispositions are not bad. An attachment to the system of peace continues. No project contrary to it could easily find favor. Good will towards the government, in my opinion, predominates ; though a numerous party is still actuated by an opposite sentiment, and some vague discontents have a more diffused influence. Sympathy with the French Revolution acts in a much narrower circle than formerly, but the jealousy of monarchy, which is as actual as ever, still furnishes a handle by which the factions mislead well meaning persons.

In our councils there is no fixed plan. Some are for preserving and invigorating the navy and destroying the army. Some among the friends of government for diminishing both on pecuniary considerations.

My plan is to complete the navy to the contemplated extent ; say six ships of the line, twelve frigates and twenty-four sloops of war ; to make no alteration for the present as to the military force ; and finally, to preserve the organs of the existing force, reducing the men to a very moderate number. For this plan there are various reasons that appear to me solid. I must doubt, however, that it will finally prevail.

The recent depredations of the British cruisers, sanctioned in various instances by the courts, have rekindled in many hearts an animosity, which was fast being extinguished. Such persons think they see in this circumstance a new proof of friendship towards this country on the part of Great Britain which will always be measured by the scale of her success. A very perplexing conflict of sensations is the result of this impression.

I must hasten to a conclusion. It was unnecessary for me to

have told you that for the loss of our illustrious friend every heart is mourning. Adieu.

God bless you.

P. S.—Who is to be Commander-in-Chief? Not the next in command. The appointment will probably be deferred.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GR. CUMB. PLACE, Jany. 7, 1800.

MY LORD:

I some time since mentioned to your Ldp. that my instructions relative to the suspension of the Commission under the 6th Art. of our treaty of Amity and Commerce were delayed for a full report that the American Commissioners were preparing upon that subject, & which was retarded by the unavoidable interruption occasioned by the contagious fever that for some months prevailed at Philada. By the October Packet, Col. Pickering expressed to me his concern lest from the same cause & the consequent dispersion of the Members of our Govt., he shd. not be able to send me these instructions earlier than by the December Packet. Notwithstanding this intimation I was not without hopes that they might be prepared in season to have been received by the Packet of November that arrived on Friday last. By her I have received Dispatches from Col. Pickering which inform me that the public offices, which had been removed from Philada. during the fever, had just returned & that as soon as the President arrived in Philada., which would happen in a few days after the date of my Letters, my instructions would be submitted to him for his approbation. I therefore expect to receive them by the packet that leaves the United States early in December. This packet will be due on the 14th inst., and may be daily expected. No time shall be lost after the receipt of my instructions in the sincere endeavor to concert with your Ldp. such arrangements as being calculated to establish the just and equitable views of the Parties, will operate to preserve the usual intercourse & Harmony on which in some degree depend the mutual Prosperity of the two countries.

With perfect consideration &c.

RUFUS KING.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

(*Private.*)

DROPMORE, Jany. 11, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I inclose you the letter which I have received from Mr. Liston * with the only one of the inclosures which you probably have not. Observing the use which Mr. Pickering makes of your communications you will not be surprised at my desiring from you as a man of honour a promise that this communication shall not go beyond yourself. I make it in order that you may see the subject such as it is now laid before me & brought to its issue. I think you are too candid and just to imagine that men doing their duty to their country, can see in the delay of sending your instructions any other object but the delay. It is not, however, for the purpose of putting you in the unpleasing difficulty of either acknowledging that which must be painful for you to acknowledge, or defending

* Mr. Liston's (No. 60) to Lord Grenville, concerning the stoppage of the Proceedings of the Commission, under the sixth Article of the Treaty of Amity, by the refusal of the American Members to attend. This incloses a letter from these Commrs. giving the reasons for their action, with a Copy of a letter from Col. Pickering written to Peter Porcupine (William Cobbett), attempting "to justify the conduct of the American Commissioners by the argument perpetually and triumphantly brought forward in their favor in this country (U. S.), the Example of those of G. Britain acting under the 7th Article of the Treaty." This letter of Col. Pickering is dated Phil. Aug. 19, 1799, and contains among other things the following:

"The simple fact is, that the British & American Commrs. differ totally on some fundamental principles—and there being no way but that of secession to avoid their sweeping effects, the Amern. Commrs. have seceded. This is not a novelty. The Commrs. in London, under the 7th Article of the Treaty, differed in certain points, & the two British Commrs. twice seceded. By the friendly communications between Mr. King, the Amer. Minr., & Lord Grenville & the Lord Chancellor, the difficulties were removed, the points contended for by the British Commrs. were abandoned by their Government & the Commission proceeded. One of those points the Lord Chancellor frankly told Mr. King was absurd! I hope & I trust that not one of the principles insisted on by the Amer. Comrs. here & for which they have seceded, will be found to merit a similar Epithet. Nothing was said of these British Secessions seeing the causes were satisfactorily removed & the manifest interests of the two Nations rendered mutual silence expedient. A like course by negotiation will now be pursued. Mr. King will be instructed on the subject & I have no doubt of an amicable result. I am &c. TIMOTHY PICKERING."

that which is indefensible, that I trouble you with this confidential letter. It is simply to ask whether anything has come to your knowledge which varies the state of this case, such as it is represented in Mr. Liston's letter, & such as I must therefore bring it under the immediate consideration of the King's servants.

No man more laments this state of things than myself. No one has gone, or would have gone greater lengths to avoid it, & I am sure, if the thing had been possible, I should have found in you a hearty co-operation. But when the business is brought to its issue we must do our respective duties & hope we shall do so without diminishing that personal esteem which I flatter myself is mutual and with which I shall ever be

Most sincerely, my dear sir, your faithful humble Servant,

GRENVILLE.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

(*Private.*)

Jany. 13, 1800.

MY LORD:

Having written the enclosed letter to yr. Ldp., I will not detain it for my answer to yr. Ldp.'s letter of the 11th instant, which I will send as soon as the Copy of a lengthy Paper, that I propose should accompany it, can be made.

I have the honor to be &c.

R. KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

(*Private.*)

GREAT CUMBD. PLACE, Jany. 13, 1800.

MY LORD:

I return Mr. Liston's letter with its enclosure & desire yr. Ldp. to be assured that I shall consider them together with yr. Ldp's letter as a communication strictly personal and confidential.

Your Lordship can be at no loss to discriminate between the Duty of a Foreign Minister in the full & unreserved information he gives to his Gov't and the prudence that in all countries should restrain the unnecessary publication of his correspondence. I will only add upon this subject what I flatter myself is in some de-

gree unnecessary to remark to your Lordship that on all occasions I have aimed at accuracy as well as impartiality in my communications of whatever passed between any member of the Br. Gov't & myself. On the present occasion I have concluded to send your Ldp. in confidence an entire copy of my letter to Col. Pickering referred to in his letter to Mr. Cobbett, in order that yr. Ldp. as well as the Ld. Chancellor may be enabled to appreciate the justice of the preceeding remark. The aim of Mr Liston's letter appears to be not only to vindicate the character of his countryman Mr. Macdonald & to sanction by his opinion the proceedings of the three British Commrs., but to fix upon the American Govt. the charge of an intentional Delay in preparing its instructions to me upon the subject of the disagreement between the American & British Commrs. In respect to the first, I can perceive no advantage in adding a single reflection to those that must unavoidably suggest themselves to any impartial & unprejudiced individual, who reads the papers exchanged between the Commrs. In a public note that I have this morning sent to yr. Lp. I have stated the purport of the information that I have recd. from Col. Pickering, accounting for the delay that has occurred in the completion of my instructions, which I am in daily expectation of receiving. I will not, however, conceal from yr. Ldp. my regrets that this delay has happened, because, purely casual as I believe it to have been, when seen solely in connexion with some other contemporaneous occurrences, it has appeared to me capable of producing the very effect that by the tenor of yr. Ldp's letter I am sorry to perceive it has done.

So far from feeling any embarrassment in consequence of yr. Ldp's letter I am glad of the occasion it affords me of assuring you, that the suspicion which yr. Ldp. appears to entertain with so little hesitation, is not only unsupported by a single presumption within my knowledge, but it is my sincere & firm persuasion that time will shew that it is incapable of support. That Delay can be sought for Delay's sake, and with the intention at the same time of a fair and ultimate adjustment of the disagreement between the Commissrs. is a supposition that will not gain credit with yr. Ldp., nor with any one not heated by personal controversy, which is almost sure to throw even the fairest minds off their natural Bias. But if other measures in themselves of im-

portance are supposed to be combined with the Delay in question, I am free to admit that it loses the character of casualty that constitutes its apology ; or to speak more plainly, if the Delay is believed to be intended for the purpose of giving an opportunity to our Envoys to ascertain the result of a previous negotiation with France, it would be natural to expect that yr. Ldp. should see & recommend to others to act upon the subject in the obnoxious light in which it has been represented. But my conviction that this cannot be the fact arises not only from the respect I feel myself inclined to bestow upon the integrity of the Govt. I serve, but from my intimate knowledge of the sentiments and of the manner of thinking of almost every member in its administration. Nor is it from the public relation I bear to these characters, that I arrive at this Confidence ; it proceeds from having acted with them in the public service for a series of years, in the course of which frequent occasions occurred that called forth their opinions upon analogous subjects. The President, as well as his Ministers, were all of them in favour of the adoption of the Treaty negotiated by yr. Ldp and Mr Jay, a fact, by itself, it seems to me, sufficient to do away the suspicion of a Plan calculated to overturn one of the most public & important measures of their Lives ; for the decision of that question was considered as deciding (and that too in a state of the public opinion, as well as of the relative situation of Engd. & France, very different from the present) the degree of intimacy & political friendship that our welfare and prosperity required that we should maintain with the former of these Countries in opposition to the wishes of the latter. Your Ldp. cannot be unacquainted either with the exertions of our Governmt. aided by the very characters now at the head of its affairs, together with the most enlightened and influential men in all parts of our Country, to accomplish this purpose, or with the dissatisfaction that immediately manifested itself in France upon the establishment of good will & harmony between our respective Countries. What reason then can be suggested, & especially in the present condition of the affairs of France for a change in this well considered system of Policy? a system that our uniform conduct, as well as our military preparations in opposition to France, have given satisfactory proof of a disposition to maintain. I have heard of none, nor am I able to conjecture any, unless it

be the unfounded as well as inadequate one, of avoiding the Payment of the Debts secured to British creditors by the Treaty of 1783: I say unfounded, because I possess the recent unqualified & explicit assurance of the President, communicated thro' Col. Pickering, that he entertains a firm determination to give complete effect to the stipulations upon this subject of the Treaty of 1795, & that the overtures that I shall be authorized to make to his Majesty's Gov't will be calculated fully to attain this salutary end. I consider this reason is inadequate, because the obvious consequence would be the loss of all compensation of the claims of American citizens under the 7th article of the same Treaty, which, as to the mass of these claims, remains unexecuted & constitutes an interest under the controul of G. B. that may be considered as equivalent to that of the Posts, which while in his Majesty's possession were thought an adequate Pledge for the payment of the Debts due to Br. Subjects.

I cannot refrain from pursuing this subject a little further, and always on the supposition that is contested. If the gaining of time to ascertain the issue of the negotiations with France, is the object of the Delays, it must be with the intention of a fair and satisfactory settlement of the disagreement between the Commissioners, in case the negotiation fails—an event that wd. be certain to lessen the probability of such a settlement, or it must be with the expectation of an open rupture in case the mission to Paris should effect a restoration of the former intercourse & harmony between France & America. If we were restrained by no other consideration, wd. it not be to ascribe to our Govt. an incapacity & want of foresight greater than anything in its character will warrant, and beyond what any Govt. has shown, to believe that we are willing to incur the certain losses that from an extensive navigation we should be sure to sustain, and the unavoidable expense & derangement to which we should be exposed in the course of a war, at the conclusion of which we might be required and should perhaps consent to do what upon the assumed hypothesis, we entered into the war to avoid?

I abstain from touching upon those other considerations, which respect the nature and continuance of our present relations to Gr. Britain, so dissimilar from those subsisting between us & France, or upon some other Topics that your Ldp. will doubtless

examine & particularly as they may be supposed to relate to the further extension of the false & dangerous notions in Morality & Politics which have been and continue to be the source of so much mischief in Europe, and which I am confident yr. Ldp. would sincerely regret to see prevail in America. I cannot however help observing that situated as Mr. Liston was at the date of his dispatch, (the Epoch of the order for our Envoys to proceed to Paris) in a scene much agitated by a recent popular Election, which seems to have excited in an unusual degree the public passions & prejudices, he was in some measure disqualified to judge of the real public opinion of the country, & in some danger of confounding the great mass of the Nation with the zealots by whom he was surrounded. The like observation applies to his remark upon the unfair use of the American Presses. I will say nothing concerning the vindication that was intended to have been published, nor of the impediment that is supposed to have prevented it. But confident as I am of the Error of the opinion that ascribes to us a systematic plan to elude the performance of a public Engagement, I am unwilling to close this letter without repeating to your Lordship my firm Persuasion that the Delay has proceeded from causes altogether foreign to those that have been imagined, & that with a little Patience we shall in a little time see the refutation of the former of these opinions, in the evidence that will be exhibited in confirmation of the latter.

With sincere esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XIII.

Cabot to King—President in private Circles distrusts France—Opinions of leading Men on the Result of the Mission—Especially of the southern Politicians—King to Secretary of State—Disposition to couple Delay in his Instructions with Mission to France—Has positively stated that is not so—Yet feels himself embarrassed—Nothing will be done until these injurious Suspicions are removed—Envoys not yet in France—England, Russia, and the Porte pledged not to make a separate Peace with France—King to Troup—Thought in England the Envoys will make a Treaty—Cannot see how when Mission once broached it could be laid aside—Lord Buchan—Condolence on the Death of Washington—King to Troup—Death of Washington—His character a steadying Power—To Secretary of State—Unfair and dishonest Condemnation by French Prize Tribunals used by English Underwriters against Americans—King to Lord Grenville—Georgia Records lost during the War—Sedgwick to King—Bankrupt Bill and proposed Amendments—Pickering to King—Hopes that an equitable Adjustment relative to Commission on 6th Article may soon be made—President's Sense of Injury done by the unjust Suspicions.

G. Cabot to R. King.

January 20, 1800.

My dear Sir :

We feel now many of the ill effects which the mission to France was supposed likely to produce. The firm and active supporters of antijacobin politics are no longer trusted or countenanced by the P——nt, on the contrary he thinks or affects to think them *his* enemies, and in this description are included Pg, Wt. & McHy. The embarrassment is felt everywhere and no one of the Leading Politicians at Phila. consults *freely* or is consulted by the others. Moderate men are made jealous of their guides and all the temporizing Federalists incline to the side of those who are the advocates for the mission. Some would think it strange,

but *you will not*, that the P. shou'd still hold the same antijacobin language in private circles he used to do before the mission was proposed. It is true however that he does and has often expressed an opinion that the safety of our country requires that full scope shou'd be given to the sentiments of distrust, indignation and even detestation toward revy. France. It is pretended that all these feelings, which are just and necessary, will be revived and increased by the mission; that the overtures of France were seen to be insidious and intended to divide us, and that our measures have defeated theirs and that the Directory are totally disappointed of their aim, while we are consolidating our union, strengthening our Govt. and preparing the country for a unanimous declaration of war.

There was a period it was said by some that France was no longer to be feared and that a general peace was unavoidable. Then again it was said, there wou'd be no peace, but the allies from success would be insolent and dangerous, so that *policy* required *every weight* to be thrown into an opposite scale to preserve the equilibrium of Europe. Now it is discovered that the coalition is dissolving; France renewing her triumphs, confirming her power, ought to be conciliated by those who wou'd avoid the vengeance of an irritated and virtuous nation. All these speculations in their turn amuse without satisfying us, and leave us to lament that our own course *was* plain on every supposition and that we have unadvisedly diverted from it.

The Southern opposition men say that the P. has been forced by public opinion to attempt negotiation again contrary to his own wishes, but that he has selected improper persons, and by the advice of bad ministers has demanded such terms as must render success impracticable. They admit, however, he has some merit in listening at all to the public voice, and they hope much from french magnanimity which knows how to appreciate every circumstance and will doubtless make great allowance for the depressed state of Republicanism under the present administration. On the other hand the Southern Federalists insist that the whole proceeding is *sincere, wise & prudent*, & if it fails, will be a new proof of the perfidy, injustice & irreconcilable enmity of the French rulers.

If the mission succeeds, the antis will argue from it that all the

former allegations against France were false ; and if it fails, they have already said it is not a fair trial and another ought to be made. These views of the subject are a little different among the Southern Politicians from those entertained here & they render a union of action difficult between the Federalists and ours ; on their ground the mission is justified, on ours it is not.

In Congress, you see Genl. M. is a leader. He is I think a virtuous & certainly an able man ; but you see in him the faults of a Virginian. He thinks too much of that State, & he expects the world will be governed according to the Rules of Logic. I have seen such men often become excellent legislators after experience has cured their errors. I hope it will prove so with Genl. M., who seems calculated to act a great part.

I am greatly chagrined at the disastrous close of a Campaign, which promised everything to my hopes. The States of Europe seem to have profited by the Revy. lessons as little as we have done. I trust however they will find sufficient instruments, as they certainly possess abundant means, to crush forever the monster that has risen in France.

Yours faithfully & affectionately

G. C.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 58.

LONDON, Jany. 22, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

A disposition has appeared to couple the delay that has occurred in the Transmission of the instructions concerning the disagreement between the commissioners at Philada. with the Mission to France. The influence of this suspicion upon the relations between the U. S. & Engd. need not be suggested. It has been my aim to do away this impression by ascribing the Delay to the derangement in consequence of the fever, and to other causes equally foreign to those that have been imagined ; and I believe I am not mistaken in supposing that the subject will not be brought before the cabinet, as was intended, before the arrival of the next packet. Tho' I have taken care not to state positively, or with confidence, that the instructions will be sent by the Decr.

Packet, I shall deeply regret, & may be much embarrassed in case they shd. not be, for with the temper I have for some time perceived, and after the evidence of its character that I have sent you, I should not be disappointed if it manifests itself to our disadvantage on the first occasion that may be deemed convenient. I receive no answers to the notes, copies of which I have transmitted to you, nor shall I receive any until the injurious suspicions of our views are removed.

I omit no means proper to be employed to keep things in a condition favorable to a candid and satisfactory explanation & adjustment. In doing so you may be assured that I maintain with firmness the Rectitude of our Govt. preserving always a due respect for those to whom I address myself. My language is that we are & shall continue to be just to every nation; that we desire to avoid misunderstandings with any; and having entered into no engagements, which oblige us to depart from this system, our efforts to remain at Peace with all nations cannot be the occasion of dissatisfaction to any.

We have no account that our Envoys have reached France, tho' they sailed from Lisbon on the 21st of Decemr. It is mere conjecture that I am inclined to believe that they will be received with marks of respect & esteem, & that they will conclude a treaty. Shod. this be the case, I hope we may not be precipitate in relinquishing our naval & military preparations; if France is insincere, or incapable to perform what she promises, we shall again want them; if the contrary shd. happen, we may not have less occasion for them.

The newspapers contain the whole correspondence between this country & France on the subject of Peace. I will not therefore increase my postage by including a copy of it. The interruption of the mails from Hamburgh for the last six weeks prevents our knowing whether the like overtures have been made to Austria and Russia.

Engd. & Russia, Russia & the Porte, and probably Engd. & the Porte are pledged to each other not to agree to any negotiation for a separate Peace, and some of the friends of the administration say this shd. have been the short answer to the overture of France. Parliament met yesterday, Mr. Fox & the other members of the opposition who seceded, will resume their seats.

The expedition to Holland & the refusal to treat with France will be the subjects of altercation. The Union of Ireland according to present appearances will soon be accomplished. I have recd. your letters to No. 70 inclusive.

With perfect respect,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

LONDON, Jany. 24, 1800.

I have yours of Nov. 6. England, as you will see by the publication of the correspondence between Lord Grenville & Mr. Talleyrand rejects all overtures for a negotiation. Some persons, who approve of the Refusal, say the answer shd. have been confined to the single point of her engagements to her allies, Russia and the Porte, not to conclude a separate peace. We hear that the opposition mean to attack the answer, and also to move an Enquiry into the Dutch Expedition.

Our Envoys sailed from Lisbon for L'Orient on the 21 ult. and are without doubt at or near Paris. It is here thought almost sure that they will conclude a treaty with the first Consul. You will naturally enough suppose the effect of the measure on my situation, and that it will not strew my path with roses—don't infer from this that I disapprove of the Mission. I cannot decide in a case, the circumstances of which are unknown to me, and therefore say nothing of the first nomination ; but that, having been publickly made, I have never been able to perceive how it could be laid entirely aside. I do not understand the disagreement to which you allude, nor upon what Points our political Friends at Albany are in danger of dividing—be more explicit as I should think it a serious calamity to the State shd. any such event happen. . . . RUFUS KING.

LORD BUCHAN TO R. KING.

Lord Buchan presents his respectfull compliments to the Minister of the United States of America, sincerely condoling with him on the heavy loss they have with all good men sustained in the death of General Washington and entreating of him to forward the inclosed letter.

DRYBURGH ABBEY Jany 28. 1800.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

LONDON, Feby. 1, 1800.

I have your obliging and friendly Letter of the 12th of Dec., and also an afflicting one of a later date by the Packet. It is but a few days since we recd. this distressing news ; but so far as my information extends, it has produced sentiments and expressions highly honorable to the deceased and which reflect honor upon our country. The authority of his character was a steadying power in our System, of the force and influence of wh. we were ignorant during his life. My hope, and I will add, my belief is, great as it certainly was, that we shall still go on pretty much as formerly and without any material derangement. . . .

R. KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 59.

LONDON, Feby. 3, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

The Grantham Packet has arrived after a short passage & brought me your dispatch concerning the 6th article of the English Treaty. I have this day sent a note to Ld. Grenville on that subject that will probably lead to the commencement of the negotiation. At present therefore I cannot give you any opinion respecting it. No exertion on my part will be wanting to bring it to a satisfactory conclusion & I can be answerable for nothing further. We are still without news of the envoys, tho' I entertain no concern respecting them. They went to L'Orient, and all that quarter is in revolt, so that no communication exists between L'Orient & Paris. Our people have a large property insured in this country & condemned in the French prize Tribunals. The sentences of these Prize courts are unfairly and dishonestly made use of by the English underwriters to defeat us in their courts. I know not whether the subject occurred to you in drawing up the Instructions to the Envoys ; but I am considering it, and tho' I have judged it prudent to avoid all correspondence with the Envoys, I am preparing a letter which I think of sending to them, representing the importance of the subject & suggesting

the advantages that we should receive by the reversal in the French Tribunals of the last resort of these sentences. Tho' I have not yet given the subject all the consideration that it is my intention to do, I do not perceive any Reason likely to influence the French Govt. to refuse what would be our interest in this respect; while I think I see more than one motive to induce them to agree to it.

It is believed that arrangements have been fallen upon to produce a reconciliation between the two Imperial Courts & that the campaign will soon be opened; but we are without late mails, and, therefore, without late & positive information on this head.

With perfect Respect, &c.

R. KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

LONDON, Feby. 6, 1800.

MY LORD:

I have lately received a letter from the Gov. of Georgia, representing the very great embarrassment to which many of the Inhabitants of that State are exposed in consequence of the loss which happened during the war of a variety of records & other public papers belonging to the office of the Secretary and Surveyor Genl. of that State.

It has been apprehended that these papers were destroyed or totally lost; but on enquiry in some of the public offices of this country, I have reason to believe that several trunks containing these papers together with others belonging to the State of So. Carolina were brought from the U. S. & deposited at the Treasury, from whence it is believed they were removed together with the Papers which related to the claims of the Amn. Loyalists to a vault under Somerset House. It is not I am confident requisite to observe to your Lordship that it was agreed by the Treaty of Peace that all papers of this description should be restored. The fact has doubtless been that both Govts. have hitherto been ignorant of their existence & situation. When I remark to yr. Ldp. that the titles to the lands of many of the Inhabitants of Georgia, as well as the security of their Estates under the Laws of the Colony materially depend upon the repossession of these

missing records & papers, I am confident that I state a circumstance that will engage yr. Ldp. to present this application to his Majesty, with the view that orders may be given for a search for these papers & for their delivery to me for the use of the States of Georgia & So. Carolina respectively.

With the greatest consideration &c

RUFUS KING.

T. SEDGWICK TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, 6 Feby., 1800.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I am sorry that I cannot write to you more satisfactorily than is in my power on the result of the present session. It was always my opinion that the public were greatly interested in rendering meetings of congress as short as possible, consistently with doing the necessary business of the nation. That idea, however, never appeared to make less impression than at the present session ; none of the great measures which are indispensable are yet matured, by the reports of Committees, for the consideration of the legislature.

The Bankrupt Bill has not yet passed thro' the House of Representatives & to my mind it is doubtful whether it will pass. This measure I believe to be important as well in a commercial as in a political view. Respecting the latter it will lessen opposition to the Government by the most active & clamorous description of persons, debtors finding an interest in its support ; while the whole of our commercial men will have additional reasons for their activity in their favorable regard to it. It will, too, more than any measure the Government can adopt, render an extension of the judiciary necessary. These and other tho' less important benefits to the Government are clearly discerned by the opposition, and consequently every member of it, except Livingston, who has conflicting motives, will vote against the Bill. On the other hand there are causes which detach several federalists from its support. In New England it will break in upon our system of attachment laws, which from habit & education have more favor than their merit entitles them to ; and in Virginia, in one instance, will render lands liable to the payment of debts and may form a precedent

for the extension of that principle. During the progress of the Bill, Gen. Marshall has made provision to decide on two subjects by jury, if required by the party, 1. the question of bankrupt or no bankrupt & 2. the amount of the debt. The second may not in practice be found very perplexing, the first I presume will be infinitely so. To this the friends of the bill were obliged to submit or render its rejection certain. This gentleman is, as you know, a man of fine talents, and I have no doubt, of perfect honor and integrity, but like all the men I have seen from that State, who have talents, too much guided by the refinements of Theory. . .

Yours very sincerely,

T. S.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Feby. 7, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

My letter of the 31st December expressed to you the ideas and conclusions of the President on the several subjects of negociation relative to the question of the sixth article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Great Britain. It was then expected that a further consideration of the matter would have suggested and required additional instructions ; but the President is satisfied to leave it on the basis at that time proposed. The additional documents which Mr. Sitgreaves takes with him will give you a more perfect knowledge of the extent and nature of the claims, the equitable adjustment of which is the object of the proposed negociation ; and with views mutually upright, the President trusts it may soon be brought to an honorable conclusion.

But this letter cannot be closed, without expressing to you the President's sense of the injury done to the American Commissioners and Government by the suspicion which appears to have been suggested, if not entertained, by the British Administration, that the final secession of the American Commissioners from the Board was caused or influenced by any considerations of interest either to individuals or the States, to arise by delaying awards and payments. Such a suspicion should be repelled with earnestness and even with disdain.

CHAPTER XIV.

Sedgwick to King—His Task to accommodate the Differences with G. Britain—France's Conduct viewed with Disgust, even Horror—King to Secretary of State—Russian and Austrian Disagreements, also Austrian and English financial ones settled—Envoys at Corunna—King to Lord Grenville—Relative to the Disagreement of the Commission at Philadelphia—To Secretary of State—Speaks of Conference above referred to—Scarcity of Bread in Great Britain—Expedition preparing possibly to assist the Revolt of the Spanish Colonies—To Pickering—Will be glad to see Mr. Sitgreaves—Envoys to France—Insurance in England affected by Decisions of French Courts—To Secretary of State—On the News of the Death of Washington, he put his Family in Mourning—Attending next Levee of the King and of the Queen—Neither made Allusion to the Event—Concerted Neglect—Dinner at Carleton House a Year before; Washington toasted—The Prince of Wales broke up the Party—General News.

Theodore Sedgwick to R. King.

Philadelphia, 11 Feby., 1800.

Dear Sir:

Again I write to you by our friend Mr. Sitgreaves. The business which sends him to you I have long apprehended might assume a serious aspect, and I am much mistaken, if you will not be gratified, that the government has afforded you the aid of his information and talents in the adjustment of it. His manly and intelligent conduct, in the management of a business so important and intricate and delicate, has, in the opinion of all our friends, added to the respectability of his character.

It will be an arduous task to accommodate our differences with G. Britain, and splendid will be the reputation of that man who can effect it. That task is yours. There never existed two nations which had a stronger interest in mutual confidence & amity than that country and this. It is in her option whether they exist, or

the reverse take place. If her councils respecting us are wise and temperate and just, the powers of our government will continue in the hands of men who discern and will pursue the public interests. But, on the contrary, if her conduct towards us is intemperate & irritating, the alternative is inevitable ; we must retaliate or lose the public confidence & with it the power of government, which will pass into hands, whose enmity to G. B. is deadly and irreconcilable.

That a late measure may be deemed by some an evidence that our government sympathized with France, I am sensible ; and yet I know that such a conclusion would be untrue. I do not believe, I never did believe that measure to be wise. I know the motives from which it originated ; I have heretofore detailed them to you, in confidence. It is a misfortune that they cannot, creditably, be exposed. I do know that the conduct of France, her policy & designs, at the moment that measure was taken, were viewed not only with disgust, but with a degree of horror.

The late explosion in France affords here abundant materials for conjecture. Many, I believe most, of our friends hope, and therefore believe, it indicates a reestablishment of royalty. I hope too, but I do not believe. There is nothing in the character of the principal agents, nor do their circumstances render that event probable, if indeed it be possible. Is the coalition in Europe dissolved ? Can the Emperor resist the efforts of France ? Are not the resources of England nearly exhausted ? Does not the revolutionary state of France, in the conflict she is maintaining, give her infinite advantages over the opposing states under regularly organized governments ? Are not the affairs of France in hands as firm, and guided by as much wisdom & genius as at any period of the revolution ? Have not all the materials composing the present power of France qualities irreconcilable with royalty ? and must not all its ministers and agents first be removed before the former order of things can be restored ?

Here we are moving on slowly. If we have not the power to do much good, we shall I hope prevent any positive evil. The house has passed a resolution to rise on the first Monday in April. I fear we shall not be able to effect it. The subject of finance is not yet brought forward. We contemplate a reform of our judi-

cial by creating a number of new districts, by associating the district judges to form circuit courts, and by instituting the office of Justice of the peace with merely ministerial powers. The bankrupt bill, I fear, will be lost, tho' it has passed to a third reading this day. I have a project for extending turnpike roads under the authority of this government, but, as yet, I know not how far it may be rendered palatable. . . .

Ever yours affectly.

T. S.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.
No. 60.

LONDON, Feby. 14, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

I have not yet had a conference with Lord Grenville, whose time, as I have been informed, is at present wholly taken up by the active and urgent negotiations in which this country is engaged relative to the approaching campaign. *I have not pressed his Lordship by a second* * application, *because were he ready I should be obliged to defer a final agreement on every point until the arrival of* Mr. Sitgreaves. As I have before informed you, the disagreement between the two Imperial Courts in consequence of the complaints of Suwarrow, was settled, and not only the order that had been given to him to return home with his army was revoked, but new corps were put in motion to reinforce the Russians, who were to act upon the Rhine. Of a sudden this order is recalled, in consequence of some fresh misunderstanding that has taken place between Petersburgh & Vienna. We are told altho' the Russians will not *cooperate* with the Austrians, that they will *accept* the subsidies of, & concur with England and against the common enemy ; but where & how they are to be employed is not explained. The pecuniary disagreement between Austria & England is settled, and the latter will grant German subsidies & probably guaranty another loan to Austria. Our Envoys landed at Corunna, & have demanded & received Passports to proceed to Paris where Mr. Murray, who will leave the Hague on the 18th instant, expects to meet them.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

* Italics in cipher.

Mr. King, having received such information by official instructions as warranted him in making to Lord Grenville a formal communication of the views of the American Government relative to the disagreement of the Commission under the 6th Article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States and Great Britain, delivered at a conference with Lord Grenville on February 18, 1800, the following paper.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

"Without discussing the disagreement that ended in the suspension of the Board of Commissioners, acting under the 6th Article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce & Navigation between the United States & Great Britain, it not being perceived that any advantage, in reference to the future and satisfactory execution of that article would be likely to arise from such discussion; it is proposed on the part of the United States, that the Plenipotentiaries of the two countries should endeavour to agree in such explanation, respecting the said article, as shall secure to the creditors on the side of Great Britain the full benefit of all the rights to which they are entitled, whether in virtue of their respective contracts, or from the provisions of the Treaties between the two countries; and at the same time mark more clearly the limits of the Engagements of the United States.

"From the extensive Commercial Dealings between Great Britain and America, Debts to a considerable amount were due to British Creditors at the Commencement of the American War; these Debts, exclusive of the irrevocable losses occasioned by the insolvency of Debtors in the course of that War, were affected by various Laws passed in several of the States, as well as by the apprehension lest the creditors might after the Peace be obliged to receive payment in a depreciated Paper money; to guard against this apprehension, as well as to remove every obstruction proceeding from the Laws of any of the States, the fourth Article of the Treaty of Peace provided 'that Creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediments in the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all bona-fide Debts heretofore contracted.' Complaints were afterwards made by divers British

Creditors that lawful impediments had been suffered to exist within the United States contrary to the aforesaid Provision of the Treaty of Peace, and that by the operation thereof they had sustained Losses & Damages which could not be repaired in the ordinary courts of Justice; in consequence of which complaints it was agreed by the 6th Article of the Treaty of Amity, that in all such cases, where full compensation for such Losses & Damages could not be obtained in the ordinary Courts of Justice, the same should be made by the United States, it being at the same time understood & further agreed that this Provision should include such Losses only as were occasioned by such insolvency of the Debtors, or other causes, as would equally have operated to have produced the same, if the said impediments had not existed, nor the Losses & Damages been occasioned by the delay, negligence or wilful omission of the claimant.

"From hence it appears that the aim of the Treaty of Peace was in this respect to do away every impediment in Law to the recovery of all bona-fide Debts therein described, and to leave to the Creditors the free legal remedy to which they were respectively entitled at the time when the Debts were created; and that the object of the Treaty of Amity, so far as it respects this subject, was not the removal of lawful impediments, for none existed at its Conclusion, nor to pledge the United States to pay the Debts due to British Creditors; but to secure to the Creditors, under certain limitations, compensation from the United States for all losses as had been occasioned by the operation of lawful impediments since the Treaty of Peace, and which could not, at the conclusion of the Treaty of Amity &c. be recovered from the Debtors in the ordinary Courts of Justice.

"To establish a claim then against the United States, in virtue of the Treaty of Amity, it is conceived that the Creditors should give satisfactory proof to the Commissioners,

"1. That the debt was bona-fide contracted before & remained unpaid at the Peace.

"2. That the Debtor was solvent at the Peace & that the Creditor used reasonable diligence to obtain Payment.

"3. That lawful impediments prevented his recovery of payment, and that during their operation, the Debtor became insolvent & continued to be so at the conclusion of the Treaty of Amity &c.

"To avoid misapprehension, it is thought adviseable informally to present in the shape of separate articles such principles as, according to the spirit and object of the 6th Article of the Treaty of Peace, are deemed on the part of the United States proper to constitute the Basis of the desired Explanations. These are also accompanied by a few observations suggesting some of the reasons on which they severally depend for support."

This examination of the articles, and the explanations of the principles upon which the United States considered the disputed points should be settled, are of such length and in such detail, covering ten pages of closely written foolscap paper, as to forbid their introduction here. The general result is that there has been a failure on the part of the present Commissioners under the 6th Article of the treaty to agree in construing its meaning as it was understood by the Commissioners of the United States, which resulted in the withdrawal of the American members from the conferences, and that it is evident

"after what has passed no reasonable expectation can be entertained of a satisfactory execution of the 6th Article of the Treaty of Amity by the present Commissioners. Whoever reads their correspondence or the minutes of their Proceedings, whatever may be his opinion of their respective merits, must agree in this conclusion. The appointment of other Commissioners appears therefore to be indispensable; and that they may not succeed to the controversy, in succeeding to the duties of their predecessors, the proposed provision with respect to the decision of the present Board of Commissioners seems equally necessary.* . . . It is proper that there should be a limitation of time within which each side should produce their proofs."

* "All claims preferred to the Board heretofore appointed, and not dismissed by the said Board, shall be considered as depending before the Commissioners to be appointed in virtue hereof; but the Commissioners appointed in virtue of this Article shall not be bound by any acts or resolutions passed or proposed to be passed by the former Board in any cases not dismissed by the said former Board."

To this communication no answer was given until June 9th, when Lord Grenville, in a private note to Mr. King, stated, as will be seen, that

"any discussion of them [the Proposals] would have been on our part an admission of the propriety of treating afresh upon a subject long since settled by a Treaty, the British part of which has been faithfully and unreservedly executed, and under circumstances of objection not materially differing from those now urged by the Government of the United States as a plea for opening a fresh negotiation."

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 61.

LONDON, Feby. 25, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

In a conference with Lord Grenville on the 16th inst, I delivered to him a verbal note containing such explanations as on our part are deemed requisite to the satisfactory execution of the 6th article of the Treaty of Amity; these additional articles were accompanied by such short observations as appeared to me calculated to explain and recommend them. As it was the first interview upon that subject, I was not disappointed in his Reserve, who only remarked that it would be best to waive any observation on the Subject, until he should have had an opportunity of giving it a full consideration. I have not since heard from him.

I annex the copy of a note from his Lordship respecting the Blockade of the Port of Genoa.

It is rumoured, tho' no authentic information has been received, that the last order to the Russian Army to return home has been recalled, and that after being reinforced Suwarrow will march to the Rhine. The orders and counter-orders that have been issued to this army give a degree of credit to the report; but no one can be sure that the revoking order may not again be recalled, and Suwarrow for the third time required to withdraw.

The Insurrection of the Chouans, which a few weeks ago appeared so formidable, seems to be nearly suppressed, and if the insurgents have been obliged to give up the arms received from

this country, these Departments must at least for some time remain quiet.

The scarcity of Bread in all parts of Great Britain & Ireland exceeds the expectations of those who began to be alarmed on this subject as early as October; and were not the numerous poor not only throughout the Metropolis, but in all parts of the country fed from the Soup-Houses established & maintained by voluntary contributions, the vigour of Government would be scarcely able to prevent extensive and serious popular commotions. The Embarrassments which affected the merchants concerned in the West India Trade are supposed to be diminished, and the commercial profits of the last year, judging of them by the Returns of the Custom House, have exceeded those of any former year. The terms upon which the Minister has borrowed Twenty Millions (an interest under five per cent) are generally ascribed to the Prosperity of the Manufacturers & Trade of the Country; tho' some persons who admit the favorable terms of the loan account for it by the facility with which money is made & issued by the Bank. The salutary restraint, arising from the obligation to give cash for its Notes, being suspended, the temptation to pass the limits of prudence is almost irresistible; and if the Directors have wisdom & firmness sufficient to perceive & perform their Duty, they will do more & better than has ever been done by other men in the like circumstances.

An Expedition is preparing * in this country; and according to my information is *nearly ready to sail, the destination of which is* matter of earnest speculation among those who are apprized *of it, for the preparations are made with great secrecy.* Tho' I do not positively *know that it will even proceed,* I have some reason to believe *that it may be, and probably is, destined to assist the revolt of the Spanish Colonies, near the Isthmus of Panama. The Inhabitants of Caraccas & Santa Fee are* deeply and generally disaffected, and if aided by a Foreign force & supplied with arms, *it is said* would openly *throw off the Spanish Dominion.* If I am founded in my conjecture *the 12,000 Troops that will go from this country will be distributed thro' the West India Islands to relieve the seasoned Troops now there, who will be employed in the Expedition.* This circum-

* Italics in cipher.

stance which cannot pass unobserved, *will enable you to judge how far this* speculation, for *it is* really nothing more, *is well founded.* . . .

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

(*Private.*)

LONDON, Feby. 25, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I am obliged to you for your private Letter of the 3d ultimo. It is of value to me on account of the sentiments of friendship that it contains, & I assure you without the least reserve that so far from Mr. Sitgreaves's coming here being the occasion of the smallest uneasiness or dissatisfaction on my part, I shall be glad to see him as well on account of the esteem I entertain for him, as that I may have an opportunity, should it be requisite, of receiving from him such particular details & information as may not be found in the voluminous documents that I have recd. from you. At the same time I will remark to you that it seems to me improbable that we shall have occasion for minute knowledge in respect to particular cases &c., as, if I am not mistaken, whatever is done must be effected by a general view of the subject, & which those with whom I am to treat may have leisure & inclination to consider.

Mr. Gore, who avails himself of the suspension of his official duty to visit his friends, will tell you what I might otherwise communicate respecting the situation of our affairs in this country. If you have not sent me a new cipher & the counterpart of Mr. Jay's cipher, which I have found among the papers of the Legation, has been preserved, I will make use of it. I take the liberty to recommend that your Dispatches, if very large, be sent by private ships addressed to the care of the Consul of the Port where they arrive. Your Dispatches by the Last Packet were charged upwards of Forty guineas postage.

With sincere respect & esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. King to Messrs. Ellsworth, Davie, and Murray.

London, Feby. 27, 1800.

Gentlemen:

Property warranted American to a large amount has been insured in this Country, & condemned in the French Tribunals, in some instances generally as good Prize, or as Enemy's Property; in others for the want of Sea-Letters, Rôles d'Equipage & other Documents said to be required by Treaty, or by the French Ordinances; in others, because papers were alledged to have been destroyed; the Master or a certain portion of the Crew to have been of the enemy's country, or the Bills of Lading to have been unsigned; and in others, on account of the Property's being the Growth or manufacture of the British Territories.

The Conduct of the Underwriters has in many of these cases been unfair and against good faith; that of the Courts, on most occasions, unfavorable to our demands against the Underwriters —the common refuge of the Underwriters has been the French sentence, produced to disprove the warranty contained in the Policy. It is here held that the sentence of a foreign Court of Admiralty is binding upon all parties as to what appears on the face of it, and if the sentence proceeds upon the ground of the property not being Neutral, it is received as conclusive evidence against the Insured that he has not complied with his warranty.

In the King's Bench it has been decided in the case of a ship, warranted American and condemned *as enemy's property*, for not having on board a Rôle d'Equipage, which the Court of Admiralty adjudged to be requisite within the meaning of the Treaty between France and America, that the sentence was conclusive against the warranty. This doctrine, respecting Documents required by Treaty, has been carried still further, and in the case of a ship warranted American, which sailed without such a passport as is required in the Treaty between France & America, and was lost, the Underwriters were discharged on the ground that the warranty was not complied with; tho' it was admitted that the ship suffered no inconvenience from the want of the Passport; the Warranty being construed to mean, not only that the property was American, but that the ship was entitled to all the privileges of the American Flag, & consequently regularly documented.

If however the ground of the sentence be not the want of neutrality but a foreign ordinance, unjust & contrary to the Law of Nations, it has been decided that the sentence does not discharge the insurer; and likewise if the property is condemned as good Prize, if the ground of the sentence contradicts the conclusion, the sentence will not discharge the Underwriters.

I can express no opinion of the probability or manner of our obtaining compensation from France in these cases; and in the present shape of the sentences, I see little prospect of our receiving it from the Underwriters. But if the sentences could be revised & corrected, we should find few impediments in recovering from the Insurers: we are entitled to this revision, and it has occurred to me, that you will in many instances be able to effect it. The arguments likely to be listened to by France will naturally suggest themselves to you, and are, as it seems to me, of a persuasive character. You will remember that one of the first acts of this Government in the course of Mr. Jay's negotiation, was to prepare the way for a revision of sentences in cases in which the property was distributed, and the Right of Appeal gone; and under this arrangement, since confirmed by An act of Parliament, almost all these sentences have been & will be reversed.

*The Confederacy, Jenke Master, a rich American Indiaman** captured on her return voyage was condemned in France, tho' admitted on the face of the sentence to be American Property, for the want of a Rôle d'Equipage. The owners *Pierpoint* and others were deeply insured in this country. *The suits against the insurers are depending; many other cases wait their decision, which will, I fear, be against the assured unless the sentence be reversed.*

With perfect Respect &c &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 62.

LONDON, Feby. 28, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

It was my intention to have mentioned to you in my last letter, that immediately on receiving information of the Death of General

* Italics in cipher.

Washington, and that a public mourning had been ordered, I put myself & family in mourning, as was universally done by the American citizens in this country. The Newspapers, excepting the Gazette, all announced the General's death & in a manner honorable to his memory; they also took notice of the public mourning that had been recommended, so that no one could be ignorant of it. Mr. Liston's Dispatch, without doubt, also mentioned the Death of the General as well as the respect shown to his memory; but no Extract from it was inserted in the Gazette, tho' an extract from a Letter from Mr. Wickham, the English Minister to Swabia, to Ld Grenville, received about the same time, & which gives an account of the death of Stiegner, one of the late advoyers of Berne, was published in this official Paper. I attended the next Levee in full mourning; my colleagues made me the customary compliments of condolence, but the King, tho' he spoke to me as usual on other topics, took no notice of the occasion of my being in mourning, & was silent respecting America. The next day, being the Queen's drawing-room, I was at court & in mourning as on the preceding days; both the King & Queen observed the same reserve, as the King had before done. I went again to the Levee, still in mourning, & the King still maintained his former silence, The Ministers are not regular in their attendance & commonly come late; some of them were however present on each day, but none of them said a word to me concerning the Death of this great man; so I conclude, and the President, who well knows the character of this court, will think I had sufficient reason to do so, that this disrespectful omission &, as I consider it, want of magnanimity was a concerted neglect.

The following Anecdote which was told me by one, who was himself a witness of its truth, proves that this want of cordial reconciliation reaches beyond *the King*. *At a dinner at Carleton House** more than a year ago, the party having as usual remained *at table till* a late hour, *the Duke of Norfolk*, who has been uniform in his sentiments respecting America, addressing himself in an audible voice to another of the guests, said, We have been drinking to the health of great men, I will name one whom we must all agree to be really a great & virtuous man—I drink to the health *of Genl. Washington.* The name was no sooner uttered than *the*

* Italics in cipher.

Prince rose from his chair, left the room and broke up the Party.

Some time since I informed you of my motives in taking pains to effect the Publication of Sir Wm. Scott's Decisions in Prize cases. Having by way of encouragement subscribed for a number of Copies, some of which have been sent to you, I shall send you a dozen more by Mr. Dandridge, who leaves me in a day or two.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 63.

LONDON, March 6, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

I have not yet heard anything further from Lord Grenville respecting the verbal note I delivered to him on the 18th ulto. I understand that it has been circulated among his colleagues, & is still under consideration. We have French papers to the 28th of last month, when Mr. Murray had probably arrived at Paris, & Messrs. Ellsworth & Davie were daily expected. I have written & sent to them a letter upon the subject mentioned to you in a former dispatch. Owing to the severe weather six mails are now due from Hamburgh, and the Government is altogether in the dark, whether the Russians march to the Rhine or back to their own country. This interruption of its communications with the Continent is the more perplexing as the campaign is on the point of opening.

With most perfect Respect & esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XV.

Bingham to King—England may declare Blockade of French Ports—Not advantageous to the U. S.—At Home antifederal Party gaining Ground—Fall of Prices in Europe injurious to Merchants—King to Sec'y of State—Envoys arrived—Troup to King—Gov. Jay living too retired—Beneficial Use of Oxygen Gas in Consumption—Jay may retire—Should declare his Intentions—Coming Elections—Deep rooted Disgust with Adams—Cabot to King—Cannot avoid opening an Intercourse with France if she concedes our Demands—Hopes he will remain in England—The Country has the highest Confidence in him—New Alliance with France to be dreaded—King to T. Hume—Missing Georgia Records—To Pickering—Liston's Letters to J. Buchanan—Says he must lead Mr. Adams by the Nose—Constable to King—Envoys arrived—Well received—King to Sec'y of State—Note about 6th Article not yet answered—Campaign on the Continent not yet opened—Intentions of Russia uncertain—To Sec'y of State—Lord Grenville does not wish to enter into formal Discussions relative to explanatory articles of 6th Article—King to Lord Grenville—About new Commissioners—General Answer to his Communication on that Subject—Lord Grenville's specific Answer to King's Note of 18th Feb'y—Accepting only the Making of a new Board.

Wm. Bingham to R. King.

Philada., March 5, 1800.

Dear Sir:

. . . The Evils you predicted from the want of concert amongst the allies have been fully matured. I am sorry to see that they extend to that Degree as to occasion the Defection of the Russian Troops. I was not unprepared for the Event, as my Letters, from my Friends, announced the Views of Austria to be her National Aggrandizement, whilst those of Russia were directed to curbing the Power & overthrowing the Government of France.

We have been long deprived of any Intelligence from that Country. I do not expect that the recent revolution will have

any Tendency to promote a general Peace, as a military Despotism cannot be supported without a large Military Establishment.

Denmark having acceded to the coalition, it is probable that G. B. (if the war continues) will attempt to form a League of the Maritime Powers, whose object will be to distress France, by withholding all Supplies thro' the Medium of the Neutral Flag, by declaring the Ports of that Country to be in a state of Blockade. In connection with Holland, she had recourse to this desperate measure during the last century. Should she again resort to it, the United States will be placed in a disagreeable Predicament; especially if a Treaty should be formed with the great Republic, as will offer such conditions as will induce the Expediency of ratifying it. A continuation of our prohibitory System would have been much more eligible & dignified than a Renunciation of our Intercourse with France, thro' the Medium of an extraneous Interference opposed to the Principles of the Law of Nations. However such conjectures may be ill formed, but if unlooked for Changes take place, we must adapt our Policy & arrange our Measures so as to conform to the new State of Things.

We have a very decided Majority in the House, and that in the Senate nearly in the same Proportion, as when you left. Any official System which will not too violently oppose the Temper of the Times may be readily adopted. Unfortunately by unremitting Industry & Perseverance, aided by the most skilful Address to the Passions & low Interests of the People, the Antifederal Party in some of the States, is gaining Ground. It will not be determined on any National Calculation, untill the Result of the State Elections of New York & Jersey is known, what will be the probable Issue of the next Election of a President. In this State there will be no Election of Electors or an arrangement for district Elections, in Consequence of a Compromise which will neutralize the votes; as each Party has its Majority in either one or other of the Branches.

A Schism which has taken place between the President & some of his Friends on the Subject of the French Mission, will tend to weaken the Efforts, if not divide the Interests of some influential Persons. It is not determined who will be the federal Candidate as Vice President. General Pinckney has some warm

Supporters ; whilst others are disposed to prefer the Pretensions of a Character from the middle States.

Your Suggestion of the Sufferings of our Merchants from the Failures & Fall of Prices in Europe are too well founded. Baltimore in particular has experienced the greatest Calamities, having from too prevalent a Spirit of Enterprise adventured far beyond its Resources. Many Bankruptcies have taken place & many more are expected & such is its Distress, that its Merchants have asked the aid of the Government, by suspending for a limited Time, the Collection of the Duties in that Port, which is a Mode of Relief, which does not altogether meet my approval for various Reasons. Other trading Cities will likewise suffer, but not in the same degree. This Country's remote Situation from Europe will always be an Obstacle to availing itself of the Variety of Circumstances which influence the Rise & Fall of its Exports.

The Death of General Washington has exhibited the literary character of our Country in a Variety of funeral Orations & Eulogiums, some of which have a great Share of Merit, & others are below Mediocrity. As soon as I can find a direct Opportunity, I will send you a copy of each of them.

With Sincerity & Esteem &c.

WM. BINGHAM.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 64.

LONDON, March 13, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

We have the Paris papers to the 9th inst. which state that Messrs. Ellsworth & Davie arrived there on the 4th, & that Joseph Buonaparte, Fleurieu & Rœderer were appointed to treat with them & Mr. Murray who had before arrived. According to the intelligence received by these Papers, the Austrians, as well as the French are making the greatest preparations for the Campaign that seems on the point of opening. We are still without mails from Hamburgh, & therefore without any other information than

that of the French Papers respecting the Russians, who it is believed have returned home.

I have received your number 72, and am in daily expectation of the arrival of Mr. Sitgreaves. No further progress is yet made in the negotiation concerning the 6th Article of our Treaty with this Country.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 9th March, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . . General efforts are now making in the Legislature by Mr. Williamson & his friends to have the western roads turnpiked; and if the object can be accomplished, of which I am far from despairing, the improvement of the country will travel on with much quicker step. . . .

The Governor's (Mr. Jay) mode of living is too retired. His house is unfavorable to the entertainment of company, and Mrs. Jay has not been in a situation to be with company for several months past. I never saw her when at Albany last October, nor during my last visit. She is undoubtedly in the first stage of a decline. At present she is living on a species of air, prepared by Dr. Stringham at Albany (Oxygen gas) from which she is supposed to have derived some benefit. This air seems to have renovated Genl. Schuyler and Mrs. Patroon, both of whom within eighteen months past, were considered as in a dying state. Mrs. Patroon appears nearly as well as I ever saw her. . . . Genl. Schuyler is so recovered that he really gives ground for believing that he is immortal. . . . Lawrance resolved to resign as soon as the present sitting of Congress is over. Watson, it is also generally supposed, will resign. His senatorial duties interfere with his duties as naval agent of the United States for New York. Mr. Morris, in all probability, will succeed one of these gentlemen. Who will be the other Senator I cannot divine. The Patroon would accept, and indeed it is said he wishes the

appointment. But his friends are rather inclined to keep him in the State with a view to succeeding Mr. Jay as Governor. Our election for Governor comes on next April twelve month, and if Mr. Jay should leave us we have no other man that we can hold up as his successor. This is universally assented to. The Patroon declares against the measure, but we shall be constrained to insist upon his serving, if elected, and to reject his refusal.

It is desirable that Mr. Jay should now declare his intention, but he says he is uncertain whether he will consent to be supported again, and that he cannot declare himself till the meeting of the Legislature in November next for the appointment of Electors of President and Vice President. My suspicion is that if we lose the ensuing election of members of the Legislature, which will be all important as to the election of President and Vice President, Mr. Jay will consider it as a decisive index of the public mind as to his own election and that he will quit us. If we succeed in the ensuing election, he will then consent to be a candidate. It is certain that we cannot take up a federal candidate who will run more heavily than he will. Our party is considerably weakened, and causes exist and are daily operating, which will most probably render it still weaker a twelve month hence.

During the present administration we have lost not a little ground. This I have heretofore suggested to you, and I have no doubt you received it with astonishment. The fact is nevertheless so. The chancellor and Burr have unquestionably a view to the office of governor, and it will be fortunate for us if they both persist in their pretensions. . . .

This election will be all important, (to choose a Legislature to appoint *electors*) and particularly so as there is a *decided and deep rooted disgust* with Mr. Adams on the part of his *best old friends*. I understand from correct authority that the Eastern delegation in Congress, almost entirely, if not wholly, believe *that the preservation of the federal cause essentially depends on removing Mr. Adams and appointing a more discreet man to the Presidency*. You will naturally exclaim, is this possible? It is more than possible, it is really too true. By the next Packet I will be particular on this head, at present I merely announce the fact. Hence you will see the necessity of making every possible exertion to have a decided

majority of sound electors. If Adams should be abandoned, and nothing but great hazard of losing the election will prevent it, it is probable, but not yet settled, that the Chief Justice and General Charles C. Pinckney will be run by us—the former as President and the latter as Vice Prest. We are full of anxiety here about the election of our members of the Legislature. It is next to an impossibility, to get men of weight and influence to serve. I do not however despair that we shall be successful. We must bring into action all our energies; if we do not the election is lost—and if our Legislature should give us anti-federal electors, Jefferson will be in. On the other side, they will lose the aid of Pennsylvania. That state will not appoint electors—their Legislature is so divided, and so obstinately divided, that they will not pass an election law. The House of Assembly being democratical wish a law for a general ticket, and the Senate being federal prefer and adhere to a law for a district ticket. This is an event from which I derive no small degree of consolation. . . .

As ever yours

G. Cabot to R. King.

March 14, 1800.

My dear Sir:

. . We are looking with much anxiety for the issue of our mission to France. Doubtless our Commissioners know where all the danger is, but if their antagonists are as subtle, as French Negotiators are commonly supposed to be, they will carry their point; if they yield everything they will gain everything. I am not able to see how we can avoid opening an Intercourse with France, if she concedes all we demand, & she must be stupid not to make concessions which will cost her nothing but a sheet of parchment & will obtain for her every thing in our power to give. I say this upon the idea that France by meeting us on our own terms, may draw us so far into her vortex as to give to her Enemies the appearance of our being her *accomplice* & thus provoke them to measures of hostility against us. This view of the subject supposes the coalesced powers to be the Dupes of their own passions,

but I am forcibly struck with *your remark* that the influence of Pride upon nations is as certain as that of interest, & perhaps more frequent. I also subscribe to your opinion that the magnitude of the events which daily occur give unusual force to this sentiment.

I have seen nothing from Philadelphia for a long time. There is apparently a good majority of Federalists in Congress, but it did seem as if the spirit of Federalism was neutralized by the peculiar state of its *head*. Our Newspapers will inform you that my Colleague Strong is our Candidate for Governor, & that Gerry is his Competitor. If the latter shou'd possibly succeed, I shall attribute it to the influence he has derived from *Great* patronage & which doubtless still continues. I ought however to say to you that Strong may be carried with certainty, if the Federalists exert themselves as much as they have done for several years past.

I have been silent on the irreparable loss of our Great and Good Washington, because without writing a book, it wou'd be impossible to say enough. It seemed to be a time when we cou'd ill spare him. I will send you what Ames & some of the best men have written upon the occasion. You may recollect that I have formerly intreated you to persevere in your present duties until the end of this cursed Rebellion which the French have excited against God & Man. I think the worst of it is past, & I still indulge the hope of seeing its total extinction in one successful campaign, or in one well concerted enterprise of the Anti-revolutionists in France. But be this as it may, you are expected to maintain with the English that good understanding & amity which is so truly for the interest of both, but which is constantly endangered.

I know the confidence placed in you by this country is great, and perhaps more is expected than is in any man's power to perform, but there certainly is great scope for your talents in shewing to the English the advantages of peace, and the dangers as well as inconveniences of war with us. Our local situation, extent of coast and numerous harbours enable us to be formidable to one of the Great powers, *when we are associated in war with the other ;* the *British* Colonies on our right and left present many strong dissuasions of war to the parent State ; there ought to be no interruption to that beneficial commerce in which we are becoming

inestimable customers to Great Britain ; *if not forced to do otherwise* we shall for half a century consume of the manufactures of G. B. more than all the world beside ; I mean, to exclude her own consumption.

New animosities will surely prevent this in a degree ; as often as necessity operates we make new efforts to supply ourselves, & tho' many attempts fail, some always succeed ; & altho' our pecuniary interest wou'd be best promoted by importation, yet that interest may be made to yield to other interests. There is nothing so much to be dreaded by a true American, as a new alliance with France ; yet something like it in effect wou'd follow a war with England. Wou'd not this be madness in British policy to produce ? her Rival wou'd finally be enabled to triumph over her ; neither France, nor the U. S. can be conquered by the English, but Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and afterwards the W. I. islands cou'd be easily conquer'd or ruined.

Yours truly and faithfully,

G. C.

R. King to Thomas Hume.

London, March 16, 1800.

Sir :

The Governor of Georgia having had some reason to believe, that the missing Laws, together with the Records of the Land Office & other important Papers belonging to the late Colony of Georgia had been removed to this country, I have at his request lately made application to Lord Grenville that a search should be made for them at Somerset House, where we hoped to have found them among the claims of the American Loyalists. This search has been made but without success ; and though there seems to be a faint recollection that one or two trunks of Carolina or Georgia papers, were some years ago in one of the offices of the Treasury, no one can give any account that enables us to discover them. Speaking upon this subject to your nephew Mr. Houstoun, he suggested the idea that it was possible that from your connection with the Colony of Georgia, you might be able to give some such information respecting these papers, as would assist us in re-

covering them, an object that is daily becoming more & more important in regard to the Titles of many valuable Estates in that country. As I had not the honor of being known to you I begged Mr. Houstoun to mention the subject of our conversation to you, and to request you to be so obliging as to communicate to me in his absence such information & conjectures, as in your opinion would be likely to promote our wishes; he accordingly sent me the inclosed letter for you, just before his departure for Georgia, & I take the liberty to add to what he has written that we shall be very much obliged to you for any hint that may put us in the way of obtaining these important papers.

With perfect consideration &c &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.

(*Private*, in cipher.)

LONDON, 24th March, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

James Buchanan an adopted American, by birth Scotch, and who has lived many years as a merchant at Baltimore, has lately arrived in this country with the expectation of settling his affairs which are much deranged. He speaks of having been much acquainted with Mr. Liston, as well as his confidential correspondent. I have myself heard him express sentiments to this effect. In conversation he is loose, unguarded and imprudent, and from what I have heard of him, unworthy of confidence. He shews several letters from Liston to him and most probably received from him introductions to some subordinate men in office in this country. Having heard of the extraordinary tenor of some of Mr. Liston's letters to Buchanan, I have been desirous of obtaining a sight of them. But as Buchanan has been admonished that they were of a delicate nature and will naturally be on his guard against me and my particular friends I may be disappointed. I have however obtained and now send you an extract from one of them, that will not fail to excite the same indignation in your mind that it has produced in mine. You may give unreserved credit to the authenticity of the letter as well as to the fidelity of the extract. I desire that it may be communicated to your colleagues, whom

it names and also to the President, if you and they think proper. From the looseness and indiscretion of Buchanan, it is possible that the letter may fall into hands disposed to make an unfriendly and mischievous use of it.

Whether you will openly reproach Mr. Liston with his vanity and falsehood, or observe towards him a reserve that his imprudence renders indispensable, is a question of some difficulty. Unless you shall see some advantage in making use of my name, it may be as well that I remain out of sight. From this specimen of Mr. Liston's statements you can be at no loss to conjecture the tenor of his public dispatches, of the erroneous and mischievous opinions they are likely to create here.

With sincere attachment &c

RUFUS KING.

Extract (referred to in foregoing letter):

"We ourselves are anxious to change the scene and if the President goes to Boston, as we flatter ourselves he will, about the latter end of this month, we shall follow him as soon as possible. You know as the House of Representatives are no longer in session, I have no more taps on the shoulder to give for the present. I must now endeavour to lead Mr. Adams by the nose (which is not a task of such facility as some folks imagine) and with this view I propose to fix my quarters for some time at Braintree. You might perhaps suppose I should be as well employed in holding conferences with my bosom friend the Secretary of State or in keeping Oliver Wolcott and Mr. Henry right. But they are all so staunch that I have now no occasion to look after them; they are ready to go as fast and as far as I wish them to go. You will observe that I have also got Genl. Washington to accept of the command and to write a proper letter. I thought it essential, he should give an unequivocal approbation to the President's conduct and touch up the Directory. I had prepared all this in the autumn last year.

"In short, my dear Sir, I am the most successful and effective fly upon the wheel, that ever pretended to raise a dust on any road in any part of the world. Everything will soon be so completely in train that I shall have nothing to do but run about and see my friends."

WM. CONSTABLE TO R. KING.

PARIS, 30th March, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Our Commiss'rs. have been very cordially received, but as yet have not commenced operations. J. Bonaparte, Rœderer and Fleurieu are named to treat with them, and Mr. Laborèe, Secretary of the Commission. Not one of the number speaks a word of English, and ours are nearly as ignorant of the French; Mr. Murray alone having a very limited knowledge of it. . . .

With respect & esteem &c

WM. CONSTABLE.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 65.

LONDON, 3d April, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I am still without any communication from Lord Grenville upon the Subject of the Verbal Note I delivered to him on the 18th of February. If the annexed pages from the Anti-Jacobin Review for the Month of March, do not greatly exaggerate & misrepresent the Sentiments of the English Cabinet, they will perhaps *assist you** in appreciating *the nature and probable issue of our present situation with this Country.*† It would afford me satisfaction could I assure you that I consider these false & libellous publications either as innocent in respect to our reputation & public concerns, or as entirely *differing from the opinions of the Gov. The Delay that I* experience after the Manifestation of so much zeal *to go on when I was* not ready, may arise from the pressure of more urgent concerns, or it may proceed from causes that will protract the negotiation for several months.

We have Paris Papers to the 29th ultimo. The Campaign upon the Rhine had not opened on the 20th tho' the armies were assembled upon the Banks of that river, and great preparations were made by the French to pass it. It is believed that the Austrians, assisted by the English naval force in the Mediterranean have

* Simply underscored. † Italics in cipher.

before this time attempted to expel the French from the Genoese Territories, & great confidence is entertained that Malta has fallen or will be obliged soon to capitulate. I hear that the English will neither assist nor impede the remains of Buonaparte's Egyption army in their return to France.

From the North, we have contradictory reports of the intentions of Russia, and it is not easy to decide whether the Emperor will afford to the allies any material aid in the approaching Campaign. The British troops, now embarking & which are said to be 14,000 & destined for the Mediterranean, may possibly have the destination intimated in my No. 61.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 66.

LONDON, April 7, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

As I may not be able to see Lord Grenville again for some days, he having gone to his Country House, where he will probably remain thro' the Easter Holidays, I think it proper to acquaint you, that in a conference I had with his Lordship the day before yesterday, he distinctly informed me that it was the unanimous opinion of himself & colleagues not to enter into the formal discussion of the explanatory articles which I had proposed to him on the 18th of February, as they saw no probability that the two Governments would be able to agree in any Explanations on that Subject; but that they would consent to the dissolution of the present Board, & to the appointment of a new set of Commissioners who should be governed by the stipulations already concluded, without regarding the constructive Resolutions of the former Commissioners; the 5th Commissioner to be named by the King; and instead of two Americans being appointed by the President, and two British Subjects by the King, that the President should appoint one American, & name a British subject to whose appointment the King's consent should be requisite, and that the King should appoint one British subject and name one American to

whose appointment the President's consent should be requisite. This modification of the choice of the Commissioners, it was suggested, might diminish the influence of national prejudice on both sides; but I conclude that it is not thought of sufficient importance to be insisted upon if the former mode of choice should be preferred. I cannot now send you a detail of the Reasons upon which his Lordship placed their refusal to agree to or discuss the explanatory Articles that we had proposed. After hearing the few words in which he communicated this decision, I only replied that I would consider of what he had informed me, and take the earliest opportunity of communicating to him the result of my reflections.

I accordingly called to-day at his Lordship's house, but he had left town early in the morning. It was my intention to have represented to him the Reasons why upon the appointment of a new Board of Commissioners, it would be necessary that certain Explanatory Rules should be settled for the government of their Proceedings, & to inform him that I was not authorized to agree to a new Commission without such Rules.

We have Paris papers to the 3rd. The Campaign had not then opened. They state that the French Commissioners appointed to negotiate with those of the United States met on the 1st instant for the purpose of exchanging their Powers. The French and Spanish Fleet at Brest, amounting to more than forty sail of the Line are ready for sea. Upwards of 15,000 troops are actually embarked, & here it is fully believed that they will come out. Their destination, supposed to be Ireland or Portugal, probably the latter. Lord Bridport was on the 31st ulto. off Brest with 28 sail of the line; five or six more may since have joined him.

With perfect Respect & Esteem

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

(*Private.*)

GREAT CUMB. PLACE, April 8, 1800.

MY LORD:

I called at your Lordship's house soon after you left town yesterday with the view of expressing my ideas of the importance

of a new board of Commissioners, & likewise to say that not having authority to agree to the appointment of a new set of Comrs. without such rules, I could do no more than transmit yr. Ldp's answer to my Govr. I will do myself the honor of waiting upon yr. Ldp. upon this subject at any hour that you shall name after yr. return to town.

I have the honor &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

(*Private.*)

DROPMORE, Apl. 9, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

Having his Majesty's permission to be absent for the next ten days, I shall not, except in the case of any particular business, return till towards the end of next week, when our Easter Holidays finish.

It appeared to all the King's servants that the Proposals contained in the paper you left with me, were in no respect explanatory of the Treaty, but in manifest contradiction to it; and that any discussing of them would have been on our part an admission of the propriety of treating afresh upon a subject long since settled by a Treaty, the British part of which has been faithfully and unreservedly executed, and under circumstances of objection not materially differing from those now urged by the Government of the United States as a plea for opening a fresh negotiation.

If therefore your idea of explanatory Rules has reference to these points, I cannot but express to you our resolution not to accede to them. If only to matters of practical convenience & arrangement of business, I will readily receive and submit for consideration any suggestion of that nature with which you will favor me, either by letter or viva voce when I return to London.

I have the honor to be &c.

GRENVILLE.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

(*Private.*)

DROPMORE, April 10, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

I enclose you the answer of his Majesty's Government to the proposals contained in the Paper which you delivered to me. It is so full as to require no additional explanations ; and it is the result of a most deliberate consideration of the subject, and an attentive examination of the Papers which have passed in relation to it.

I am myself perfectly satisfied after the fullest investigation, that the course proposed by your Government is one to which we cannot in common justice to a most injured class of the King's subjects accede ; and that if we did we should increase, instead of removing the grounds of dissension between the two countries.

If you wish for further conversation upon this subject, I shall be very much at your orders, and I beg you to be persuaded of the sincere personal esteem and consideration with which I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir, your most faithful and most obedt. humble servt.

GRENVILLE.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

(*Private.*)

GREAT CUMBD. PLACE, April 11, 1800.

MY LORD :

I have had the honor to receive your Lordship's Letter of the 9th instant, and am concerned to perceive so wide a difference between your opinion & that of the American Government repecting the just interpretation of the Sixth Article of our Treaty of Amity, and the more so, as while this difference of opinion continues to exist, there can be little reason to expect that the majority of a new set of Commissioners, composed as it would be, would be likely to dissent from the opinions of the majority of the present board, or that the change of men would make a change in the Principles & Proceedings to which we think ourselves justified in objecting.

It is not my intention to slide into an examination of this sub-

ject after notice that the door is shut against its discussion ; but however defensible your Lordship may consider the principles & proceedings in question, or whatever objection may prevent our respective governments from entering into amicable and candid explanations respecting them, I should be wanting in the frankness that the occasion seems to require, if I did not without reserve express to your Lordship my conviction that the proposed explanations have not been lightly or inconsiderately offered ; that the interpretations, against which they are calculated to guard us, are repugnant to the plain & natural meaning of the article ; and that with a disposition to overlook unessential errors, and to give full effect to our stipulations upon this subject, we ought not from a mistaken apprehension that the public faith would be affected by the refusal, to acquiesce in a construction that appears to us, and as we believe will appear to others, wholly to defeat the limitations and restraints of the article, and on a subject of great magnitude to convert a conditional into an absolute engagement.

I am not sure that I comprehend the nature and effect of the Regulations to which your Lordship refers towards the close of your Letter ; whether the desired explanations are formally or informally adopted must be matter of little importance, & about which there ought to be no disagreement provided they reach & remove the objections which stand in the way of a fair & satisfactory execution of the Treaty : but of what your Lordship calls Rules of practical convenience and arrangement of business will afford the security against the adventurous and groundless constructions which have occasioned the separation of the Board, it would in my apprehension be fallacious to look for such a conclusion of this business, as it was the original & mutual expectation and interest of the two countries to attain.

In the present uncertain state of this affair, I see nothing that it remains for me to do, but to request of your Lordship an answer according to the intimation of your intention in our last conference, to the propositions I had before submitted to your consideration in order that I may send the same without loss of time to my government.

With sincere Regard & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

In response to the request of Mr. King that Lord Grenville would send him, for transmission to his government, an answer in accordance with the intimations of his intentions at their last conference relative to the propositions submitted to him, an answer was given on April 19th, giving a history of the formation of the treaty, of the duties and powers of the commissions provided for in it for the settlement of the claims of citizens against their respective governments for losses during the war, and of the appointment of the commissioners under the 6th and 7th articles; of the troubles which had occurred in carrying out their duties; disagreements in both, which had been happily removed in reference to the 7th article, but which had broken up that under the 6th article, and of the objections to the settlement proposed by the government of the United States. The length of this paper prevents the publication of it here, but it may be stated in general that the suggestion of an explanatory article to be given to the commissioners for their guidance when reconvened, would be virtually agreeing to make a new treaty about matters which had been committed to them with definite instructions in the article itself, and for that reason that the British Government cannot consent to reopen the discussion upon the views and action of their commissioners in the conscientious discharge of their duties, for the government had perfect confidence in their high character, integrity, and capacity to decide the questions submitted to them; but that it is evident that

"the disagreements of the present Commissioners have rendered it less likely that the business should satisfactorily proceed in their hands than in those of persons to be named. His Majesty therefore always wishing to contribute to conciliation and harmony, does not object to the proposal of withdrawing the present commissioners and forming a new Board under the conditions proposed; a new Board to execute the same duty and to be invested with the same discretion, which the Treaty has given to the present Commissioners. . . ."

CHAPTER XVI.

King to Secretary of State—Conference with Lord Grenville relative to his Note—Suggests the probable Wisdom of paying a gross Sum for the Settlement of all Claims by British Creditors—To Pickering—Advantages from such a Mode of Settlement—To Secretary of State—Unless Russia unite with the Allies, Denmark and Sweden will continue neutral—Misunderstanding between Russia and the Allies rather increases—Gore to King—Events in the U.S.—Lord Grenville to King—His Report of Conference correct—Suggests the Principle that the Decision of one Cause in a Class of Claims should settle all of this Class—King to Secretary of State—Campaign in Italy recommenced favorably to the Allies—No Change in Russia's Plans—The Terms of Union with Ireland—Simcoe to King—His Conduct in the Government of Canada the reverse of that charged by the Duke of Liancourt-Rochefoucault—He endeavored to preserve Peace—King to Governor of Georgia—Records of Georgia found—To Lord Grenville asking their Restoration—Pickering to King—Speculations as to the coming presidential Election—Public Offices to be removed to Washington in June or July—King to Troup—Presidential Election—Pleasant House nine Miles from London—Must have a Farm—Pickering's Removal—Law of Blockade—Sedgwick to King—Bankrupt Bill passed—Secretary of Treasury to report on Revenue at Beginning of each Session—Influence of Marshall in Legislation—His Character—Strong reasoning Powers, but weakens their Influence frequently before exerting them—An Instance in the Passage of a Law for counting the Votes for President in Case of a Dispute—His Objections, though abandoned, caused it to be lost—Adams and Pinckney will be the federal Candidates.

Having received the specific answer from Lord Grenville, Mr. King reports in a letter to the Secretary of State that he had been asked at the last conference:

"If I was authorized to offer any specific sum of money on the payment of which Great Britain should engage to satisfy the claims of the British Creditors? Having no such power, my answer was of course in the negative."

The answer of April 19th having placed the negotiation in a situation that had not been foreseen, Mr. King considered it his duty to refer it in its present stage to the further consideration of the President.

He also asked for a conference with Lord Grenville for a more precise idea of the nature and extent of the regulations suggested by him, which was immediately granted; and in the following letter, April 22d, the free conversation was reported to the Secretary of State.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 67.*

LONDON, April 22, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

So much impatience has appeared in respect to the Delay that happened in the transmission of my instructions concerning the separation of the Commissioners at Philadelphia, that I judged it expedient to lose no time after their arrival in beginning the negotiation: I accordingly informed Lord Grenville on the day after the receit of your No. 71, that I was ready to proceed, and would either write to him an official note as the commencement of the negotiation, or prepare & deliver to him an informal paper, containing the propositions we had to offer, and which might become the subject of free discussion in future conferences. His Lordship intimated a preference of the latter course, and I accordingly delivered to him the Paper mentioned in my No. 65,† a copy of which is annexed. In my No. 66‡ I gave you an account of what passed between Lord Grenville & me in our next conference; in addition to which I might have added that his Lordship asked if I was authorized to offer any specific sum of money, on the payment of which Great Britain should engage to satisfy the claims of the British Creditors? having no such power my answer was of course in the negative.

* Appendix II.

† April 3, 1800.

‡ April 7, 1800.

On the 19th instant I received his Lordship's written answer to the proposals I had delivered to him on the 18th February, corresponding, as you will perceive by the subjoined copy, with the verbal answer that had before been given to me. As this answer precludes all discussion of the articles we had proposed on the plea that the whole subject had been finally settled by the Treaty of Amity, and that the United States are bound by the decision of the majority of the Commissioners whether the matter decided was within or above their powers, my first thought was to prepare and send to his Lordship a Note exposing the errorof a principle that confounds the distinction between a limited and an unlimited delegation of authority, and which should at the same time support by farther arguments, the justice and expediency of the explanatory articles that we had offered.

But as the language of Lord Grenville in our conference was equally explicit and decided, as that of the Paper delivered in answer to our Proposals, I on reflection changed my first opinion, from the persuasion that nothing would be gained by that course in favor of the future execution of the articles; and as the answer had placed the negotiation in a situation that had not been foreseen, that it was my duty to refer it in its present stage to the further consideration of the President.

The written answer of Lord Grenville having intimated a disposition to accede to certain Regulations, which it was supposed might facilitate the execution of the Treaty, I yesterday asked a conference with his Lordship for the purpose of obtaining a precise idea of the nature & extent of these Regulations: this was immediately granted, and afforded an opportunity for a free conversation upon the general Topic, as well as respecting the particular subject that brought us together. Many things were said on both sides, which it would be useless to repeat; these therefore are omitted in this Report.

His Lordship observed that the object of the Delay, that took place in London, was to allow time for the Court of Appeals to decide the several Prize cases before their examination by the Commissioners, and that a like arrangement might be made in respect to the cases before the Commissioners at Philadelphia. In regard to the Questions of impediment, solvency, insolvency, and some others of equal importance, Lord Grenville said, their

decision must be left to the provisions of the Treaty, to the particular circumstances of each case, and to the sound discretion of the Commissioners ; adding that upon a full investigation of the subject he was convinced that no new & general Rule upon these points could be made without affecting cases & claims that ought not to be affected ; and that even with respect to an agreement to delay the cases before the Commissioners at Philadelphia, in order that the claimants should have an opportunity first to obtain the decision of our Courts, it would be difficult, not to say impossible, for him to form any satisfactory idea of what would be a convenient time, unless he had a more adequate knowledge of our Judiciary proceedings & a particular instead of a general acquaintance with the claims. Upon this point, as on most others, there seems to be wanting a discretionary power always present, and ready to act as occasion arose, and according to the nature & circumstances of the particular question ; that the Persons, whom he has thought of as two of the Commissioners to be appointed by the King, were men of prudence & discretion, & with whom he thought we should be satisfied ; that Mr. Liston, having repeatedly asked, & lately received leave of absence on account of his health, might not be at Philadelphia, & he saw no preferable course, in case we acceded to the suggestion, to that of sending these two persons to Philadelphia to concert with us such analogous Regulations in respect to the Commission there as were agreed to with regard to the Commission here. We should by this means have an opportunity of knowing the character and dispositions of the Persons sent to prepare and agree to them & who would afterwards be appointed to assist in the execution of the Treaty.

Lord Grenville asked me in what time I supposed the Courts would be able to go through the whole of the cases ? I answered that this must chiefly depend upon the diligence of the Creditors, and that I could not form any satisfactory Estimate of the time that might be necessary ; on the one hand, it should not be so short as, with a disposition in the Courts to avoid delay, should defeat the object of the Regulations ; and on the other hand it should not be so long as to afford any ground from the Delay to infer that there was a denial of justice. No precise time was settled here, and perhaps none should be at Philadelphia. His Lordship asked if there could be no means found to accel-

erate the trials? I repeated the observation that more would depend on the diligence of the Creditors, than upon the Courts of whose disposition to give the greatest despatch there could be no doubt; that a Law requiring extraordinary sessions of the Courts or prescribing a more summary proceeding would not only interfere with the established course of our Judiciary, but give birth to other & still more difficult questions, which it would be unwise to agitate.

His Lordship asked whether the cases before the Board are any of them in a state for the new Commissioners to take up, suggesting that it would be desirable that the new Board should at their commencement have something to do. I replied that tho' I could not then answer the question with any degree of accuracy, I was inclined to believe that many cases were in a situation that without recourse to the Courts, might soon be prepared for the Commissioners to decide, also that the progress of the Trials would be constantly furnishing additional cases.

Lord Grenville expressed his opinion that the new Board ought to proceed in a different manner from their predecessors, by deciding cases singly one after another, without attempting to decide them by general Resolves & in classes.

I observed that it was possible that new difficulties might arise in the course of future proceedings, & should Mr. Liston be absent there would be no one with whom we could confer for the purpose of removing them.

Lord Grenville replied, that in this case we must endeavour to find out a proper character to supply Mr. Liston's place.

I then asked Lord Grenville if he had formed any idea of the gross sum, on the payment of which they would engage to compromise the claims of British creditors. His Lordship replied that he had not, adding that he thought the creditors had not been wise in swelling, as they had done, their claim to four or five millions sterling; tho' it might have no influence upon our Government, it would be likely to have some upon the People. *That he himself did not like the idea of the payment of a gross sum, and that he mentioned it to me in compliance with the opinion of his colleagues; but*, that on the supposition the debt due to British creditors did not exceed two millions, they might be willing to accept a gross sum of between one and two millions.

I shall, as opportunity offers, endeavour to acquire further information on this subject, as it may possibly lead to the satisfactory conclusion of a most difficult business.

If it is probable that we shall ultimately be required to pay upon the awards of the Commissioners a sum equal to, or not far short, of one for which the business could at once be settled, would it not be the part of a wise policy to engage to pay such sum by installments, or in some other convenient manner? All further expense to Individuals, as well as to the public, would in this mode of settlement be saved; we shall moreover escape the embarrassment of any future disagreement among the Commissioners, and consequent misunderstanding between the two countries; the trouble & vexation of numberless Law-suits would be prevented, and instead of the dissatisfaction and ill-will towards us that they would unavoidably excite, a general Release to the Debtors would be a boon that could not fail to procure opposite sentiments.

With perfect Respect & Esteem

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.

(*Private and Personal.*)

LONDON, April 22d, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

In order that the President may have all the information in my power to communicate on the subject of my official Letter of this date, I have concluded to send you copies of the private letters which passed between Ld. Grenville & me on that subject. I desire, for obvious reasons, that this letter may not be considered as belonging to your office, or in any respect a public communication. The more I think of the overture for the settlement of the claims of the British Creditors by the payment of a gross sum to their Government to take them off our hands, the better I like it. I am aware of many objections to the Scheme, but, admitting their force, will not the measure still be a wise one? and may not the Proposition be so made as to insure its success with Congress?

The business of the Commission here would, as I conceive, be soon brought to a close ; and there would, I think, be no difficulty in a satisfactory arrangement upon this subject, provided the claims of the British Creditors were disposed of.

This sort of settlement might moreover afford an opportunity to obtain the possession of the Maryland Bank Stock which is the everlasting subject of fair words that are intended to mean nothing.

With sincere regard & esteem, &c., &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 68.

LONDON, April 23, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

In my number 56, I informed you that a state of things existed at the time, which made it almost certain *that Denmark would** be drawn *into the war and that* great exertions were employed to engage *Sweden to adopt the same policy.* The Retreat of Russia has doubtless produced a material change in the politics of the North, and I have been recently informed from the same authentic quarter from whence I before derived my information on that subject, that unless Russia shall again unite her armies with those of the allies, and reengage in the war, it is pretty certain *that both Denmark and Sweden will* be suffered to continue *their neutrality.* The Emperor of Russia having given assurances to the King of Sweden, that he will support him against any innovations by the Diet, and these assurances having been made known throughout Sweden, it is likely that the Diet after assisting at the coronation and adopting some Laws to retrieve and support the Public Credit, will separate without attempting either Revolution or Reform.

The campaign has not yet opened tho' it is considered as unavoidable.

By the Ship Active I have sent you a box, containing the additional volumes to complete your set of the Statutes down to the present Session of Parliament, together with Crutwell's Gazetteer,

* Italics in cipher.

which is the latest, and I believe the best English work extant. I don't find that there is any English Geographical work superior to Guthrie's which may be had at any of the Booksellers at Philadelphia.

I will take measures to provide & send you an Atlas, which shall contain all the good maps that can be collected. It will be extensive but that is no reason why it should not find a place in your office.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

During the suspension of the sittings of the Commission under the 7th Article of the Treaty with Great Britain, consequent upon the breaking up of that under the 6th Article, Mr. Gore took advantage of the present cessation of the labors of the former to make a visit to the United States, and while there wrote a number of letters to Mr. King, giving him accounts of the condition of the political affairs at home. Though, to a considerable extent, confirming the statements made by other correspondents, they are the record of a clear-headed man, who was thoroughly and intimately acquainted with the leading statesmen at home and with the views on public affairs held by Mr. King, in which he himself concurred. The first of these letters written soon after reaching New York follows:

C. GORE TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, April 24, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR:

Strong and Gerry were the candidates run in Massachusetts for Governor and from all I can learn of the votes they are nearly equal, though the good men say they have reason to hope the former is chosen. Gouverneur Morris is appointed a Senator from this State. Your fellow citizens here are busy electioneering. The parties are desirous of securing their favorites, and each is sanguine. Hamilton is sure of success and I understand the other side is equally so.

From what I can gather there are some very good friends to the Government who wish to set up Ellsworth and Pinckney as Candidates for chief magistrate—others are for the present occupant as chief. What will be the final determination does not yet appear with certainty, tho' it is probable Adams will be supported. . . .

Yours truly & ever,

C. GORE.

LORD GRENVILLE TO MR. KING.

(*Private.*)

CLEVELAND ROW, April 24th, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your report seems to me perfectly correct. One question is however omitted, the discussion of which seems to me likely to be material; it is whether there may not be means of classing the cases, so as to give the Creditors the benefit not only of applying to the Commissioners for redress when the existence of an impediment actually applying to their class shall be ascertained by trial in one case, but also the benefit of a *speedy* and effectual redress from the courts, when, by the decision of one cause, any question affecting a class shall be decided. If this is not done, Debtors, who profit by delay, may oblige the Creditors to try each disputed question over again as often as it occurs through the whole class of cases to which it applies.

You must also allow me to remark, on the last point mentioned in your letter, that though I permit myself to speak with freedom to you of my personal opinions, I should be unwilling that any expression of doubt, however slight, on my part, respecting the opinions of those with whom I am so happy as to act in public business, should get into an official correspondence.

Believe me ever, my dear Sir, &c.

GRENVILLE.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 69.

LONDON, April 26, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

In order that I might have it in my power to correct any mistake that I might have committed, I sent to Ld. Grenville an extract of my No. 67, containing the report of what passed in our last Conference; the copy of my note and of his answer are subjoined. On the supposition that a new Commission is appointed, I perceive fewer difficulties in the arrangement suggested by his Lordship in respect to the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners than with regard to the Courts.

We are still without any account that the campaign has actually commenced; the misunderstanding between the Emperor of Russia and the allies seems rather to increase than diminish. Count Cobenzel, the Austrian Envoy at St. Petersburgh, was sometime since ordered not to appear at Court, and an intimation was at the same time given to the Foreign Ministers, that it was expected they would break off their usual intercourse with him; for disregarding this extraordinary communication, the Emperor, as we hear, has demanded the recall of the English Ambassador, Sir Charles Whitworth, and the Envoy Extraordinary, lately sent from Vienna, to announce the marriage of some Branch of the Imperial family, has been denied an audience, and on demanding Passports for a courier to inform his Court of what had passed, these were also refused.

With Perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

J. G. SIMCOE TO R. KING.

LONDON, May 1, 1800.

The Duke of Liancourt Rochefoucault in the recent publication of his Travels thro' North America speaks with much freedom of M. General Simcoe then Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada. It must evidently appear to any person who shall give the subject due consideration that the conclusions which the Duke de Liancourt draws from his supposed communications with the Lt.

Governor (while living in his family) are at variance and inconsistent with themselves, yet as a Servant of his King & Country, M. General Simcoe deems it proper to say that the principles which governed his conduct while in the administration of the Government of Upper Canada were the reverse of what is insinuated by the Duke de Liancourt, and that he was actuated by the most sincere intentions to preserve Peace, good neighbourhood and good will between the King's subjects and those of the United States; and he has ever been of opinion, in express contradiction to Mons. de Liancourt, that the most strict union between the two Nations, is the real Interest of each, & will make the soundest policy & true wisdom in those who shall respectively govern their councils. M. General Simcoe is so conscious of having personally acted upon these principles during his administration of that Government that he has claimed from the Duke of Portland & Mr. Pitt protection and *consideration* as having been the principal means of preventing hostilities with the United States from the mode in which he executed the military orders he received in Upper Canada.

In testimony of these premises, M. General Simcoe begs leave most respectfully to offer this representation to the Honble. Rufus King, Minister plenipotentiary of the United States to the King of Great Britain.

J. G. Simcoe.

Endorsed in R. King's handwriting: "M. General Simcoe, 1 May, 1800.—Contradiction of Liancourt, &c."

"The General came to me on the 8th (May) and delivered me this paper saying he was not at liberty to publish the Orders &c.; that he had vindicated himself in his memoirs, wh. he had ordered his Executors to publish after his death: but that he would tell me, that according to his instructions (wh. he was now convinced Lord Dorchester had no power to have given) he ought to have attacked Wayne, and thus have begun a war with the U. S.; that when he received his instructions, he fully believed that his Govt. had resolved to bring on a war with the U. S.. a measure that he himself thought highly impolitic, but in wh. he was bound to acquiesce."

C. Gore to R. King.

New York, May 5, 1800.

I have a moment, my dear friend, to write to you. Our friends here have been defeated in the election—and on the fate of it they fear the choice of P. & V. P. will depend. In Philadelphia the parties are extremely divided. The P. has no confidence, but great distrust of every man, I believe without exception, in whom you and I have confided. Pickering, Hamilton and Higginson he seems to hate without any modification. Cabot and Ames are not behind in his estimation, nor does he seem to think much better of Wolcott, altho' his hatred is not so extreme against them. . . . Farewell, God bless you.

Yours sincerely,

C. Gore.

T. Pickering to R. King.

(*Private.*)

Philadelphia, May 7, 1800.

Dear Sir:

. . . You will doubtless see by the newspapers the issue of the elections in the city of New York. Governor Clinton, General Gates, Brockholst Livingston, &c, all democrats are elected to represent the city and county of New York, and Dr. S. L. Mitchell representative to Congress. It is concluded that the 12 electors of New York will all vote for Mr. Jefferson, as president, and this will probably be decisive in his favour, unless New England will concur in the federal candidates. Mr. Adams & General Charles C. Pinckney are proposed. New England will be nearly unanimous for the former, & South Carolina and part of North Carolina will vote for General Pinckney; hence the *federal* election of President will perhaps not be in jeopardy, if *Massachusetts* will give all her votes for General Pinckney as well as Mr. Adams: but there is the danger; that the miserable policy of regarding *men* not *measures* will defeat the hopes of the most enlightened and truly patriotic citizens.

I thank God that the folly of the people of Massachusetts has not quite succeeded in making Gerry their governor; you will be

astonished to find how closely he pressed the heels of Mr. Strong. Gerry had near 17000 votes ! you will perhaps be not less astonished that while the election was pending, the President said it was a matter *of indifference whether Mr. Strong, Mr. Gerry or Mr. Gill was elected.*

The public offices will be removed to the city of Washington in June or July. No preparations are made yet for the accommodation of the President & his family, and they will soon return to Congress. Congress is to rise next Monday, the 12th inst. We have heard by an American Vessel from Bordeaux that the envoys arrived there about the 19th of February and had gone to Paris. It was said that this vessel brought letters from them ; they may be on their way from Norfolk. This vessel was captured, carried to Bordeaux and what was American property released. She sold & purchased a return cargo, and consequently is seized and must be confiscated under the new non-intercourse law ; unless Congress pass now a special act to prevent it.

Very truly & respectfully yours

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 70.

LONDON, 8th May, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

The campaign has opened on the side of Italy on the 6th ulto by the attack of the Austrians, who on the 10th had succeeded in dispossessing the French of several strong Posts, which they held in the Genoese mountains, and in breaking their line of communication between Genoa and Nice. According to the last advices from that Quarter, the situation of the French army under Massena was extremely critical ; it is believed that the Rhine was passed by the French army, commanded by Moreau, at several points on the 25th, and couriers are every hour expected with accounts from the Austrian army. As Paris papers to the 4th inst have been received, which mention the passage of the Rhine, but which are silent concerning the subsequent engagements, it is inferred that the French have either been unfortunate or that no considerable battle has been fought.

There are no symptoms of the return of the Russians. Sir Charles Whitworth, the English Embassador at Petersburgh, who has incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, is coming home ; and with the permission to return, will receive information that he has been created an Irish Baron, as a remuneration of his services. The Russian troops employed in the Dutch expedition, and who are at Guernsey, are recalled ; and will return home as soon as the Baltic is open, unless the Emperor consents to their stay for the purpose of succouring Portugal, which is kept in a state of inquietude by the menaced attacks of France.

The British Troops mentioned in my No. 61, and who were destined for the Mediterranean, have been disembarked, and the expedition for whatever object undertaken, seems to be wholly laid aside. Other projected expeditions, in which Russia was expected to cooperate, will in like manner be abandoned, in case the expected cooperation continues to be refused.

Parliament is engaged in settling the terms of the Union with Ireland, which meet with no considerable opposition. The dearness of bread & meat has occasioned some popular irregularities near some of the manufacturing Towns ; but by the prudence of the magistrates, assisted by the presence of the military, they have been quickly and easily suppressed. The season is uncommonly fine, and the apprehension of serious embarrassments, on account of the scarcity of food, is very much diminished.

Enclosed I send you a copy of the letter * that in my No. 63 I informed you, I should write to our Envoys in Paris.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO JAMES JACKSON, GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.

LONDON, 8 May, 1800.

SIR :

Immediately after the receit of your Excellency's letter, I commenced an enquiry for the Georgia records, which were removed to this country during the late war. It is needless to repeat the

* Relative to the fact that the underwriters in England claimed and were sustained by the Courts, that the Decisions of the French Courts in cases of captures should be used in the settlement of claims for Insurance—these decisions being most unjust.

disappointments that I have experienced in the prosecution of this Enquiry. Let it suffice to say that I have received the most ready assistance from the British Government, and that a large chest of these Papers has been found in the office in which the Papers of the late Board of Trade are deposited. I went myself today to see it, and shall immediately renew my application for its delivery.

With this Chest are two others supposed to contain the Records of East and West Florida ; and as I have some reason to believe that the Georgia & Florida Papers have been mixed, I will take measures that all the cases shall be carefully examined, in order that such Papers as belong to Georgia may be separated and restored. I am not able to give you a more particular account.

With great consideration & Respect, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, May 8, 1800.

MY LORD :

I was mistaken in supposing that the Georgia Records and Papers which were conveyed to this country during the late war, had been deposited with the Papers of the American Loyalists at Somerset House. On further enquiry I find that they are in the custody of Mr. Chalmers, the keeper of the Papers of the late Board of Trade ; and I therefore take the liberty of renewing the request which I lately made to your Lordship, that these Papers may be delivered to me.

With the most perfect consideration & Respects

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

LONDON, 8 May, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I don't believe that the wise men of the East will do so indiscreet a thing as to offer Mr. E., or any other in lieu of Mr. A., as the consequence will be defeat. Pray why do you not think of Genl. Armstrong for the Senate of the U. S. He is certainly a man of talents and in my Eyes very sound in his politics.

Besides considering his connections & the part he has taken, has he not claims wh. ought not to be neglected?

I conclude that Mr. A. will be supported by his former friends and as Pensylvania will lose her vote, the Election will depend on N. Jersey & N. York. . . . The envoys continue to be civilly treated at Paris; I know nothing more. Hitherto I do not believe they have done anything, but I do not from hence infer their success or failure. As the season here is fine, we are beginning to hope that we shall not be starved.

Yrs

R. K.

P. S. . . . My family is at a pleasant house we have at about 9 miles from town, and the preference we give to it over the town, is constantly recalling my project of a farm &c. I must have a farm.

T. SEDGWICK TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, 11th May, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Tomorrow a long tedious and unproductive session will close. At the commencement of it, I formed the most flattering expectations that much would be done to give efficiency & security to the government. The general objects which I contemplated I suggested in a letter which I wrote to you just before I left home. None, almost, of my hopes have been realized. We have, it is true, enacted a bankrupt law—a measure, in my belief, of considerable importance; but it is far from being such an one as I wished. The *acts* in curing bankruptcy are too restricted, and the trial of the question Bankrupt or not, by jury, will be found inconvenient, embarrassing, & dilatory. This mischief was occasioned by Virginia Theory. It was the whim of General Marshall; with him a *sine qua non* of assent to the measure, & without him the bill must have been lost, for it passed the House by my casting vote. Besides the bankrupt bill, we have passed one more of great importance. It makes it the *Duty* of the Secry. of the Treasury, at the commencement of a session, to report to the Legislature on all the subjects of revenue & finance. This will give splendor to the officer and respectability to the executive Department of Govt. Besides these two laws, all the rest we

have made are, as to any permanently beneficial effects, hardly worth the parchment on which they are written. The reason of this feebleness is a real feebleness of character in the house. Marshall was looked up to as the man whose great and commanding genius was to enlighten & direct the national councils. This was the general sentiment, while some, and those of no inconsiderable importance, calculating on his foolish declaration, relative to the alien & sedition laws, thought him temporizing, while others deemed him feeble. None had in my opinion justly appreciated his character. As his character has stamped itself on the measures of the present session, I am desirous of letting you know how I view it. He is a man of a very affectionate disposition, of great simplicity of manners and honest & honorable in all his conduct. He is attached to pleasures, with convivial habits strongly fixed. He is indolent, therefore, and indisposed to take part in the common business of the house. He has a strong attachment to popularity but indisposed to sacrifice to it his integrity ; hence it is that he is disposed on all popular subjects to feel the public pulse and hence results indecision and *an expression* of doubt. Doubts suggested by him create in more feeble minds those which are irremovable. He is disposed to the erotic refinement, and to express great respect for the sovereign people, and to quote their opinions as an evidence of truth. The latter is of all things the most destructive of personal independence & of that weight of character which a great man ought to possess. This gentleman, when aroused, has strong reasoning powers ; they are indeed almost unequalled. But before they are excited, he has frequently, nearly, destroyed any impression from them. I will give you an instance which will render this observation perfectly intelligible.

Looking forward to the ensuing election, it was deemed indispensable to prescribe a mode for canvassing the votes, provided there should be a dispute. There being no law in the state, the governor had declined, and the jacobins propagated the report, that he would call on the people, by proclamation, to choose electors, & that he would return their votes. A bill was brought into the Senate & passed, wisely & effectually providing against the evil, by the constitution of a committee with ultimate powers of decision. Mr. Marshall in the first place called in question the

constitutional powers of the legislature to delegate such authority to a Committee. On this question I had a long conversation with him, & he finally confessed himself (for there is not a more candid man on earth) to be convinced. He then resorted to another ground of opposition. He said the people having authorized the members to decide, personally, all disputes relative to those elections, altho' the power was not indelegable, yet he thought, in its nature, it was too delicate to be delegated, untill experience had demonstrated that great inconveniences would attend its exercise by the Legislature ; altho' he had no doubt such would be the result of the attempt. This objection is so attenuated and unsubstantial as to be hardly perceivable by a mind so merely practical as mine. He finally was convinced that it was so and abandoned it. In the mean time, however, he had dwelt so much, in conversation, on these subjects that he had dissipated our majority, and it never could again be compacted. The consequence was that the bill was lost.

We have had a meeting of the whole federal party, on the subject of the ensuing election & have agreed that we will support, *bona fide*, Mr. Adams and General Pinckney. If this agreement be faithfully executed we shall succeed, but otherwise we cannot escape the fangs of Jefferson. It is true that the late conduct of the President has endeared him to the great body of the federalists, but it is equally true that it has created an entire separation between him & those whom he theretofore deemed his best friends. This is an evil of a more alarming nature than you can well form an idea of.

We have for some days believed that the Legislature of New York would be decidedly antifederal ; but yesterday I recd. letters from General Hamilton, Mr. Van Schaak and a gentleman in Albany, who seemed decidedly of opinion that our fears were unfounded.

The election of Governor in Massachussets will to you, at a distance, have an unpleasant appearance ; but it is by no means an evidence of the real division of parties. The fact is that Gerry was voted for as the friend of Peace, and what was more efficacious, as the friend—the personal & confidential friend—of the President. In both respects he was supported ; and what is conclusive evidence to this point is, that the federal candidates

for the Senate thro' the State had more than four fifths of the votes.

Mr. McHenry has resigned his office of Secy. of War and Marshall is appointed his successor. He will not accept; he was not consulted previous to the nomination, nor had the least intimation of the President's intention. . . .

Ever sincerely yours,

T. S.

P. S. The duel between Bayard and Chaplin is an unpleasant event. The cause was unworthy. A prosecution is set on foot. They have fled, except poor Chaplin who I fear is unable to get off.

CHAPTER XVII.

J. Hale to King—Adams must be the Candidate for President—New York against Jefferson—Strong elected Governor over Gerry—Gore to King—Conversation with Liston about 6th Article—Bayard Died—King to Secretary of State—Attempted Assassination of the King—Moreau defeats the Austrians on the Rhine—Misunderstanding between Russia and the Allies increasing—Sweden and Russia offended by England's Capturing merchant Ships under Convoy—Project of uniting the Northern Powers against France at an End—King rejoices at its Failure—King to Secretary of State—Eaton wishes him to buy the Presents for the Bey of Tunis promised to him when Treaty of Peace was made—Has no authority, though he gets an Estimate of Cost—Pickering to King—His Removal from Office—Coalition between Adams and Jefferson—Marshall appointed Secretary of State—Gore to King—Pickering Removed—Pinckney and Adams for President and Vice-President—Cabot to King—Pickering's Removal—Coalition of Adams and Jefferson—England will find Pretence to war on Commerce of United States and France—King to Secretary of State—N. Webster's History of Pestilential Diseases—G. Morris to King—Their Friends are in sad Anarchy—A direct Tax always Unpopular—King to Secretary of State—The Lord Chancellor thinks a gross sum the best way of Settling the Differences under the 6th Article—Campaign in Northern Italy.

Joseph Hale to R. King.

Boston, May 13, 1800.

Dear Sir:

I am duly honored with your favor by Mr. Gore. Good men throughout the United States concur with you in the necessity & policy of a united effort to reelect Mr. Adams. We were yesterday told that the members of Congress, that is those worthy of a post there, had unanimously agreed to support Mr. A. for Pres. & Genl. Pinckney for Vice Prest. Notwithstanding the untoward aspect of the late election in New York, influenced probably, by the unconciliating conduct of Capt. Bellew of the Cleopatra, it is hoped that the above gentlemen will be chosen.

You will be rejoiced to learn that Mr. Strong is elected Gov-

ernor of Massachusetts. The rival candidate Mr. Gerry was highly supported. Mr. S. has not a majority of more than two hundred out of near forty thousand votes returned ; and there was but about two thousand scattering votes. In some of the neighbouring Jacobin towns, their representation has been encreased this year. This notwithstanding, we shall have a majority of good men in the house ; altho' the result of to-day may exclude Mr. Lowell & myself from the house and introduce Eustis & Tudor. There will be a handsome majority of good men in our Senate, altho' Norfolk has chosen Hitchbon, Aspinwall & one Ellis. The bill relative to federal elections has passed the lower house of Congress, tho' differently modified than in its first draught. Congress were to have risen yesterday.

The fate of the army of Egypt, so correspondent to the intercepted letters, would overset Bonaparte, were he less firmly fixed. The public mind with us is upon the tip toe for information from the Austrian & French armies. The event of the present campaign is difficult to conjecture since the return of the Russians. We do not wish France to prevail, neither are we satisfied that the conduct of another government towards us should promote the cause of France in our country. The administration of Great Britain must derive their information regarding our Country from very impure and incorrect sources, or their policy would be materially different. The solid interests of both countries are reconcileable, or incompatible with each other ; if the former, why treat us as she appears disposed to ? if the latter, the sooner we prepare for a serious contest, the better. While we deprecate the latter, we will not shrink, if called upon to meet it.

2, o'clock P.M. The poll is now closed & the last year's list prevailed by a great majority. . . .

Your most obedt. servt.

JOSEPH HALE.

I have broken the seal of this to say that this day's post brings intelligence from Albany, that the New York City election gave such alarm throughout the State, as to produce exertions in favour of true policy. The result is that New York will have a decided majority in their House of Representatives against Jefferson.

Yours as above

J. HALE.

C. Gore to R. King.

Boston, May 14, 1800.

My dear Friend:

When in Philadelphia I had several conversations with Mr. Liston on the subject of the Commission under the 6th Article. His private letter from Lord Grenville expressed great fear that unless your instructions authorized the relinquishment of many points in the precis given in by you that a harmonious result could not be expected to the negotiation. He appears satisfied with our construction of the Article which would exclude from its benefits those who were with us after the dec'on of Independence and then went to the British and also with that which would oblige the claimant to prosecute, under certain modifications, his debtor in the courts previous to his coming before the Board. On these & several other points he declared himself to be of opinion that the G. B. should not contend with us, that our construction was right and that he would communicate his sentiments to Lord Grenville. McDonald and Guillemarde return to England in the Lady Arabella. On the latter requesting permission from our Government it was given and Col. Pickering informed him that the President had thought proper to make it a condition in the negotiation that was pending that the Board should be composed of new members.

The federal party have agreed to set up Adams & *Genl* Pinckney. It is possible they may be so alarmed at the elections in the City of New York as to be true to the agreemt; but I much doubt it. Strong is our Governor by a small majority only; Hitchbon is a Senator and Morton a Rep. from Dorchester. The election for Reps. for this town was made yesterday and the fed. ticket carried 2 to 1. Of course we are up again for a moment.

A duel has been fought in Philadelphia by Champlin of R. Island and Bayard of Delaware & both wounded; it was the consequence of some hasty remark by one or the other in a debate on the floor of the House. There was a report that Hamilton and Brockholst Livingston had fought in N. York; but it was not true. Mc. Henry has resigned as Secretary. The P. immediately named Genl Marshall to succeed him, & it is said the Genl. as

immedi'ely declined. I do not learn who is to fill the place. Genl. Lee they suppose would be gratified by the appointment. My affectionate regards to Mrs. King and the boys.

Yours truly

C. Gore.

R. King to Secretary of State.

No. 71.*

London, May 22, 1800.

Dear Sir :

The King's Life was twice in danger on the 15th ; in the morning at a review of a battalion of the Guards, when a gentleman a few yards distant from him was wounded by a ball from one of the soldier's pieces. Similar occurrences having before happened, this was considered as purely accidental, and doubtless proceeded from the carelessness of the Ordnance Department in having issued Ball Cartridges among those containing only powder.

In the evening an assassin who had placed himself near the

* See answer of the President in note.

J. Adams to J. Marshall, Secretary of State.

Quincy, 2d Aug., 1800.

Dear Sir :

. . . Mr. King's despatches, Nos. 71. and 72. † I have read and if you think proper, you may authorize Mr. King, if he thinks it proper, to communicate to the Court, in any manner he thinks most decent, the congratulations of his government, and, if he pleases, of the President, on the King's fortunate escape from assassination. . . . The jewels for Tunis are a more serious subject. When I read over all the despatches from the Barbary States, I remember your predecessor consulted me concerning these jewels. His opinion was, that it was best to make the present, rather than to hazard a rupture. After the expenditure of such great sums, I thought with him that it would be imprudent to hazard an interruption of the peace on account of these jewels, and I presume he wrote to Mr. Eaton or Mr. Smith accordingly. I am still of the same opinion.

I see no objection against requesting Mr. Smith, and all the consuls in the Barbary States, to keep Mr. King informed of the general state of affairs. It will be of service to the public that our minister at London should know as much information as possible concerning our affairs in those countries.

† May 22 and 25, 1800, pages 243 and 246.

centre of the front row of seats in the pit of Drury Lane Theatre, fired a pistol at the King the moment he entered his Box ; the two slugs with which it was charged lodged in the cornice of the Box about twenty inches above the King's head. The King asked Lords Salisbury and Chesterfield, who attended him, if it was a Pistol? and being answered in the affirmative, with coolness and decision ordered them to stop, and, adding there may be another, put his hand upon his breast, advanced to the front of the Box, & saluted the audience.

The assassin, a disbanded soldier, who was severely wounded under the Duke of York in Flanders, and is reported to be subject to fits of insanity in consequence of his wounds, was immediately seized ; after which the play began, and the King with the Queen & two of the Princesses who were behind the King, but had not entered the Box when the Pistol was fired, remained as usual until the entertainment was entirely finished. The assassin will be tried by a special Commission. There are many idle rumors of plots & conspiracies against the King's life ; but they are not worthy of the smallest credit ; and it does not appear that the Person who made the attempt at the Theatre has any confederate. The two houses of Parliament, the City of London & other Corporations have presented congratulatory addresses, to the King on this occasion and the example will run thro' the Kingdom.

The Austrian Army upon the Rhine, has suffered great losses, both in killed and Prisoners in the several battles fought between the first and twelfth of this month. The success of General Melas in Italy, and the expectation that the French army would be so completely destroyed in that quarter, that General Melas would be able to enter the south of France, induced General Kray to believe that the French army of the Rhine would not attempt to march into Suabia ; and in this persuasion, according to a plan previously concerted, General Kray advanced his magazines, and put his army in a situation not to defend, but to pass the Rhine, the moment he received information that General Melas had entered France. In this position of the Austrian army, General Moreau crossed the Rhine in great force, fell upon the Austrian Posts, and pursued his attack with such vigour as left General Kray no time to collect and concentrate his forces to oppose

him. The consequence has been that the Austrians have been obliged to retreat, after fighting several obstinate and unequal battles, which they could not decline without exposing their separated columns to be cut off by the rapid advance of the French ; further accounts are anxiously expected, as well from the Danube as from Italy, whither Buonaparte is hastening with the army of rescue to relieve Massena who is shut up in the city of Genoa.

There seems to be no probability of a reconciliation between Russia and the allies ; on the contrary, the misunderstanding between England and Russia is increasing Since the recall of Sir Charles Whitworth, the Emperor has recalled Count Woronzow, his Envoy at this Court ; and we hear that Sir Horace Popham, an English naval officer, sent to Petersburgh to superintend the embarkation of the Russian Troops that were to *cooperate* with the English in expeditions against France, is coming back ; and that the Russian Troops employed in the Dutch expedition, and who have wintered at Guernsey, are going home. Much coolness still subsists between Sweden & England on account of the Fleet of merchant men under convoy of a Swedish Frigate, taken by the English in 1798. The British minister is on his return from Stockholm, the Swedish Envoy having left London several months ago. As Russia interposed her good offices with the British Cabinet in support of the complaints of Sweden concerning the capture of her Merchant Ships, while under a national convoy, and is moreover understood to be ultimately connected at present with Sweden, the disagreement between England and these two Powers may be expected to increase, rather than to diminish ; and the project of uniting the north of Europe in the conference against France must now be relinquished. A less rigorous and more liberal interpretation of the Law of Nations concerning Merchant Ships, under National convoy, on the part of England, with more steadiness and less caprice on the part of Russia, would in all probability have overcome the obstacles to this important measure which a few months ago was all but completed. * *When I recollect, and I think I can never forget, the sentiments and language of the British Minister concerning the United States at the time he entertained the fullest confidence of success in this scheme, I*

* Italics in cipher.

cannot help rejoicing in its failure nor hoping it may never be accomplished.

Sir Hyde Parker is recalled : Sir Hugh Seymour succeeds him on the Jamaica Station. I hope the change will produce a more favorable and just treatment of our Flag in those seas. Sir William Parker, who is well spoken of, replaces Admiral Vandeput on the Halifax Station.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c., &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 72.

LONDON, May 25, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

I yesterday received a letter from Mr. Smith at Lisbon, including a letter and several Papers, dated in October last, from Mr. Eaton our Consul at Tunis. According to Mr. Eaton's representation the Peace which he states to have been concluded with the Bey of Tunis, is in danger of being broken by the delay that has arisen in the delivery of the stipulated supply of military and naval stores, and for want of what is called the customary present of Jewels, which, it is alleged, the Persons who negotiated the Treaty sanctioned the Bey's expectation of receiving. The object of Mr. Eaton's letter to me, is to engage me to purchase and send to Tunis the Jewels and other articles, a list of which he has inclosed, estimated by the Bey to be worth forty thousand dollars, but which Mr. Eaton supposed may be purchased in England for half that sum. The military stores which Mr. Eaton thought of entering into a contract with certain English traders at Tunis to supply, giving them bills on me, have, according to Mr. Smith's information, been sent from the U. S. Mr. Smith, who I presume is acquainted with the state of our Barbary Affairs, gives no explicit opinion concerning the purchase of these Jewels, tho' I conceive from the tenor of his letter that he is on the whole rather disposed to acquiesce in the demand : but, as I am entirely without information or authority on this subject, and have no knowledge whatever respecting the intentions and measures of the Government, I shall not without a direct and explicit request from Mr. Smith comply with Mr. Eaton's demands. I will however immedi-

ately apply to Mr. Boulton at Birmingham, who is able to manufacture and prepare, on lower terms than any other, the articles enumerated in the list of Jewels, for an estimate of the price at which he will engage to supply them ; this estimate I will send to Mr. Smith, with an answer corresponding with the tenor of this letter. I submit to your consideration whether it will not be expedient, by some means or other, that I should be made acquainted with the situation of our Barbary connections, if there is any probability that I am from time to time to be called upon to exercise a discretion concerning them. Should Mr. Smith, before I can receive your answer to this letter, ask my assistance in the execution of his Orders, I shall give it in the best way in my power, but uninformed as I am, I shall do nothing of my own discretion, nor shall I hereafter be inclined to interfere on any occasion, unless I hear from you, that such interference may, in the President's opinion, be necessary ; in this case, I must repeat the observation, it will be proper that I should be kept fully acquainted with the situation of our Barbary Affairs.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

Note of Articles expected as a Present from the United States of America to the Bey of Tunis, on the ratification of Peace between the two Powers.

For the Bey :

1 Fusee, 6 feet long, mounted with gold, set with diamonds.
4 " with gold mounting, ordinary length.
1 pr. of Pistols mounted with gold, set with diamonds.
4 " " " mounted with gold.
1 poniard, enamelled, set with diamonds.
1 diamond Ring.
1 Gold repeating watch, with diamonds, chain the same.
1 Gold snuff-box, set with diamonds.
6 pieces brocade of gold.
30 " superfine cloth of different colours.
6 " Satin, different colours.

The Bey's son :

1 gold mounted fusee.
1 do pr. pistols.
1 do watch with diamonds.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Philadelphia, May 28, 1800.

Dear Sir :

For some account of the changes the President has made in the public departments, allow me to refer you to my Son, to whom I have written at large, and yet but a little of what the occasion suggested, of facts and observations, all of the like tendency, and which would demonstrate the President's unbounded vanity, ambition, selfishness, revenge and a heart cankered with envy. There were several worthy candidates for the place of Commissioner of the Stamp Office. They called on me with their applications as usual. At length I found that Mr. Joshua Johnson was a candidate. I then told gentlemen (my friends) that he would be appointed, "for the President's son had married his daughter." Mr. Wolcott, prior to the nomination, called and asked me if I knew anything about him. I remembered your letter of 1797 (private) in which you mentioned the current report, that Mr. Johnson had quitted London dishonorably leaving creditors in the lurch. This fact was well known otherwise to many of our merchants. The Senate were equally divided ; Mr. Jefferson gave the casting vote for Mr. Johnson, "from the respect he had for the President's discernment," for he assigned his reasons for his casting vote. With this demur about brother-in-law Johnson, the President also upbraided Mr. Goodhue. Who but Mr. A. would scold and reproach Senators for exercising their constitutional right & duty respecting presidential nominations ?

Beyond a doubt there is a coalition between Mr. A. & Mr. J.,* but I have not time to note the combined facts & circumstances which prove it. Mr. J. never before stayed to the close of a session. The Aurora announced the arrangement before it took place. At Dallas' table it was openly mentioned several days before, that I was to resign and Mr. Marshall to be appointed Secretary of State. He had refused the war office to which he was named without notice, and left town for Virginia. On Monday, the 12th, he was named Secretary of State and Dexter Secy. of War. It is not known whether either will accept ; if General

* Gunn, says Dawson (member from Virginia & devoted to Jefferson) told him there was a coalition. Another Virginian said the same to Dayton.

Marshall declines, Dexter will doubtless be appointed to the Office of State, and I think it not improbable that he will accept it. Wolcott's place cannot be filled ; it would be too hazardous to remove him. The President desired him to remain in office to the 4th of March next.

May 28, 10 o'clock a. m. It is said that General Marshall accepts the office of State.

Very truly yours,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

May 29, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR :

Mr. Gore will return in the Galen & will give you the most ample details of our internal politicks. You will previously have seen with regret the expulsion of Col. Pickering from an office which he filled with ability, integrity & honor, but you are so well acquainted with the *sort* of sensibility for which our chief is remarkable, that you will be less surprised than most men. It is believed that there is a good understanding between Jefferson & Mr. Adams, & that they will make a *joint-stock* of their influence in the next election, which will probably issue in the elevation of the former to the President's chair, and depressing the latter to the Vice Presidency. If however Massachussets cou'd be induced to act with a just regard to the support of the National Govt. and not be biased by a predilection for persons, we shou'd see General Pinckney President. You see we are about to act over the fooleries which are incidental to Democracies & which at last change them. I cou'd write you a few pages which might be interesting, but you wou'd still demand more, and Mr. Gore will satisfy you, for tho' he professes to avoid our domestic politicks, he undoubtedly must know all that can now be known.

Presuming that we have swallowed the bait we shall find ourselves hooked by France. I am apprehensive that England will find pretences for warring upon the commerce which shall be attempted to be carried on with France. Shou'd this be the case I hope they will publish to the world the principles, on which they mean to act, & if they are new, or uncommon, let them allege openly the justification of them in the nature and extent of

the danger which equally threatens all nations, whose battles they really fight, and have already fought with success. Perhaps they may add that in the present contest a Neutral associating with their Enemy may almost as well become an open enemy.

God bless you & yours

G. C.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, May 31, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR :

The P. has removed Col. Pickering which, so far as I can judge, produces general discontent. Genl. Marshall, who was named in his stead, it is believed, will decline ; Dexter thinks he will not. It is conjectured that should M. decline, D. will be appointed to the office of State. He says he shall not & cannot take the place as its duties are more than he can perform. Notwithstanding I believe the place will be offered him and he will undertake the business. Some suppose Mr. Wolcott will leave the Treasury and it will be difficult to find a successor. The P. has gone to Washington and will not return here before my departure. Fries and the other convicts are pardoned. The intention of the federalists is to run Genl. Pinckney & Mr. Adams as Pres. and Vice President. It is confidently believed that Mr. A. will have a unanimous vote in Massachusetts. This may probably be relied on, if the electors are chosen by the Legislature ; but I think very doubtful, if they are appointed by the people. Middlesex would choose such an elector as might vote for Mr. Jefferson, and it is quite uncertain what would be the course of some others. This State is doubtless strong & strictly federal with very few exceptions. . . .

A Treaty with France is calculated on and it is presumed the P. will call the Senate to consider its merits about October, affording this body time to finish Treaty business before Congress meets. We hope your explanatory article will be here in season for that meeting . . . Monday evening 2 June. I have this afternoon seen Mrs. Adams. She says Marshall accepts the office of Secretary of State. . . .

Yours ever,

C. GORE.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 73.

LONDON, June 2, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

I have received your No. — inclosing a Bill of Exchange for £95. Sterling drawn upon me by Mr. N. Webster ; in his letter of advice, Mr. Webster informs me that the Draft is on account of 100 Guineas that Mess. Robinsons, Booksellers in Pater Noster Row, agreed to pay him for the copy of his History of Pestilential Diseases. I have given them notice of this Draft, but have not received information whether they will make provision for its payment. Through Dr. Lettsome I hear they are dissatisfied with the publication of the same work in America, where, as they allege, they expected to sell a considerable portion of the edition printed here. I do not accept this Draft, nor shall I pay it, unless Mess. Robinson supply the money, which I am in hope they will do.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.,

RUFUS KING.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS TO R. KING.

MORRISANIA, June 4, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR :

I pray you will be so good as to forward the enclosed letter to the Duke of Orleans. You have doubtless heard that our Legislature is Antifederal & that our present system is somewhat wild. Mr. Adams is known to you and of course certain things have excited less surprise than they would have done had they been performed by a Man of steadier Conduct. Living as I do in the country, and thinking as little of Politics as I can, it is not in my Power to tell you what Plans are in Agitation, much less what Events will take Place, but nil desperandum de Republica is a sound Principle. Let the Chair of office be filled by whomsoever it may, Opposition will act as an outward Conscience, & prevent the Abuse of Power. As to the discarding of it, we may fairly trust the Ambition which seeks Office for holding the Power which it confers. In the mean time all our Friends here are in

sad Anarchy. Truth is that a direct Tax, unpopular everywhere, is really unwise in America, because Property here is not productive. Of course the Democrats and their Demagogues have had just cause to complain of the manner in which money is raised and our Expenditure is so far from economical, that no applause is to be expected on that Score. But the thing which in my Opinion has done most mischief to the federal Party is the Ground given by some of them to believe that they wish to establish a monarchy.

Adieu

I am truly yours

G. M.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE, &C., &C.

No. 74.

LONDON, June 6, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I was mistaken in supposing the Jewels enumerated in Mr. Eaton's note could be obtained at Birmingham. Mr. Boulton informs me that these articles are not made there and I have taken measures to ascertain their cost, should we be obliged to purchase them in London. In conversation with the * *Lord Chancellor* a few days ago, he remarked speaking of *the 6th Article of the Treaty*, that the *best manner of* settling the *late difference and avoiding future disagreements would be the paying of a gross sum;* and that he never knew *any arbitration*, which did not come to something of this sort. The Russian Envoy returns to the Continent, the Secretary of Legation has been named Chargé des Affaires; the same thing has taken place at Vienna, and the English & Austrian Envoys have at length obtained Passports to leave Petersburg, which were for a time refused. The latest intelligence from Italy or rather from the territories of Genoa, is of the 14th ulto. Massena still defended himself and Melas leaving General Ott to carry on the siege of Genoa, after driving Suchet into the Department of the War, marched from Nice on the 14th against Berthier, who had arrived by the route St. Bernard at Aosta and was advancing towards Turin. General Melas ex-

* Italics in cipher.

pected to encounter Berthier, whose division is supposed to be without cavalry, and artillery, before its junction with the division that marched by St. Gothard. The issue of the campaign may depend upon the success of this Enterprize. We have no account of any affair of any importance in Swabia, since Kray has concentred his army upon the Danube ; but the two armies were in presence of each other, and a general action was expected.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.,

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XVIII.

King to B. West—Monument to Washington—Bushrod Washington to King—Proposes to publish Life of Washington—King to Secretary of State—Jewels for the Bey of Tunis—To N. Webster—Robinson ; Objections to Publishing his Work—Jay to King—Impatient to learn about the Campaign in Europe—Affairs in United States not Free from Agitation—Federalists not Active or United—Their Opponents diligent, united—Troup to King—Dr. Romayne's Plans—Separation, Bitterness, and Hostility Among the Federalists—Especially against those of New England—Cannot say who will be the Candidate for Governor—King to General Chalmers and the Governor of Georgia—Trunk Containing the Georgia Papers—McHenry to Pickering—Liston's Letter to Buchanan—Pickering to King—Liston's Letter—Explanation by Liston—Not Serious—Adams says there is no Coalition with Jefferson—Never said there was a British Faction in the Senate—Violent Feelings against Hamilton—Goodhue to Pickering on this Subject—King to Secretary of State—Disasters to Austrian Army—Probable Treaty of Peace between Austria and France—Dissatisfaction between Northern Powers and England—Influence of England on the Continent less than at any Period of the War.

R. King to Benjamin West, Esq.

Mill Hill, June 9, 1800.

Dear Sir :

I am sorry that I happened to be out when you did me the honor to call in Great Cumberland Place a few days ago. I have received, and beg you to accept my respectful acknowledgements of the Design of a Monument to the memory of our illustrious countryman, General Washington.

Little acquainted with the arts as I am, it would be impertinent in me to express any opinion upon a subject decided by so distinguished a Master. But I cannot avoid saying that the simplicity & grandeur of the plan give to it in my eyes a merit that makes me hope it may be approved by the President, to whom I shall take the earliest opportunity of sending it. If motives of

Economy, or any other to which I am a stranger, should prevent its adoption, I cannot be mistaken in assuring you that it will, notwithstanding, be received as a precious memorial of the affectionate attachment of a Citizen, whose talents and reputation reflect so much honor upon his native country.

I have the honor to be with great respect &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE, &C.

No. 75.

LONDON, June 11, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

Mr. West, the President of the Royal Academy & who is indifferent to nothing that concerns his native Country, lately sent me the inclosed letter with the Design of a Monument to the memory of General Washington.

The plan has, as I understand, been approved by the principal architects of this country, and in their opinion is worthy of the great character whose Virtues it is intended to commemorate.

With most perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

BUSHROD WASHINGTON TO R. KING.

MOUNT VERNON, June 12, 1800.

SIR :

Being in possession of all the papers of my late uncle Genl. Washington I have been very much solicited by those who feel an interest in the many important public events which occurred in his time, and which he contributed in some measure to produce, to prepare for publication a history of his life. This I have at length consented to do, and with such assistance as I can obtain, the work will be completed as expeditiously as my other employments will permit.

Whether a history formed from the Journals and other papers of the General will be more authentic than any other which can be written, I will not pretend to say ; but finding that proposals have been made by others both here and in England for publishing a similar work, I deem it proper that as early and as general

a notice as possible should be given of my intentions upon this subject.

If, Sir, you will, in any mode which you may deem most proper, make known these intentions in Great Britain, I shall feel myself very much gratified. . . .

With sentiments of very high respect &c, &c

BUSHROD WASHINGTON.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 76.

LONDON, June 12, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . . There has not been time to hear anything further from Mr. Smith, concerning the Jewels mentioned in a former letter, and I am in hopes that he will find means to avoid the demand: as they could not be procured at Birmingham. I have with the assistance of the consul Mr. Williams, obtained an Estimate of the cost in London; according to which we could not purchase them for less than £7000. Sterling. The principal articles could not immediately be furnished at any price, as they were never made except by order & it would require a year to complete them.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO N. WEBSTER ESQ.

LONDON, June 12, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I sometime since received from Col. Pickering a Bill upon me for £95. Sterling, with the letter of advice that accompanied it. Before it came to hand, Dr. Lettsome had written me a Letter, expressing his disappointment and concern in having just received a note from Messrs. Robinson, with a copy of your History of Pestilential Diseases. In a subsequent conversation with the Dr. I perceive that in his opinion the work ought not to have been published by you in America, where, as he observes, Messrs. R. expected to have sold a considerable portion of their Edition; that as the American Edition was published first, it could not be

expected that Messrs. R. would consent to pay 100 Guineas, for a manuscript Copy, instead of waiting a few weeks for a printed one, at the common price ; and that according to the Laws concerning literary property it is free for any one to reprint in England a work first published in a foreign country.

When your Bill arrived, I desired Dr. Lettsome to give notice of it to Messrs. R., and when due, I directed my Banker to present it to Messrs. Robinson for payment, "which they refused to make, stating that as Mr. Webster had published the Book himself in America and sent several copies over here to be disposed of, they did not consider themselves as engaged for the purchase ; but had printed the Book for Mr. Webster's account, and any profit that may arise on the sale they shall hold themselves accountable to him for."

Under these circumstances I am obliged to return the Bill to Col. Pickering unpaid.

I have the honor to be &c

RUFUS KING.

JOHN JAY TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 16 June, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

Altho' I could write to you a long letter, and on interesting Subjects, yet the Liberties often taken with Letters on the Ocean make Reserve and Caution necessary. We are impatient to learn whether any and what great Events have as yet marked the present Campaign in Europe ; and whether it is probable that the Expectations which seemed to be formed from it will be realized ; as yet this Question appears to be a difficult one.

You will perceive from our public Papers that the affairs of this Country are not free from agitation ; and that the ensuing Election for the Presidt. of the United States causes much attention and activity. What will probably be the issue of it, cannot at present be foreseen ; coalitions are talked of, but if they should take place I doubt their being durable. The Political World appears to be in a strange state everywhere, nor is the moral world in a much more eligible condition. These things excite curiosity and the rising Generation may have theirs gratifyed, tho' perhaps at some Expence.

In this State Parties continue much the same; the Federalists not uniformly active nor united, and their most influential men, at least too many of them, devoted to their professional or personal affairs. Their opponents on the contrary are persevering, united, diligent and unsparing of Time or Trouble, or Expence. These collisions may yet produce Sparks and fire; but the Extent of our Country and the Temper of our People are favorable to Tranquillity.

With great Esteem and Respect as your most obedt. Servt.

JOHN JAY.

R. KING TO GEO. CHALMERS, ESQ.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, 18 June, 1800.

SIR:

I have received a note from Lord Grenville, in answer to one from me respecting the Georgia Papers, in which his Lordship informs me that you will deliver them to me or my order. I accordingly request that you will have the goodness to deliver them to the bearer, John Munro who will give you the requisite receipts upon their delivery.

With great Respect &c

RUFUS KING.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 24 June, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . Suffer me to say a word or two about Dr. Romayne, by whom I send this letter. The Doctor, since the failure of his scheme with Governor Blount for establishing themselves in the possesion and government of the Floridas and Louisiana, has become so disgusted with politics, that he seems to have abandoned them forever, and his object in visiting London, is to settle there for life and devote himself to medical pursuits. It is certainly a departure from all delicacy and propriety, to say no more of it, for any person to embark in any political project affecting his country without the concurrence of its government. Yet I cannot charge the Doctor with intending to do his country the least degree of in-

jury. His imagination was heated with an idea that the French were negotiating with the Spaniards for those countries, and that the possession of them by the French would prove a source of the greatest mischiefs to us. Hence he thought it not amiss, provided he could make a great man of himself, to form a combination with the British government to defeat the plan of the French, and thereby give us friendly neighbours. . . . The Doctor conceiving that his countrymen look upon him with a suspicious eye has left us forever. . . .

As to our State politics, they certainly are in an unfortunate train. Mr. Jay's seclusion from the world and his distant manners have been constantly diminishing the popularity of our party ; and it has so happened by various untoward events that our best and most influential friends in the northern part of the State have separated from each other, and are setting themselves up against each other's views with much bitterness and hostility. This has arisen in the first instance from a suggestion dropped by Mr. Van Vechten (a lawyer of the first consequence at Albany and at the head of the federalists) that the New England people were gaining an influence with too much rapidity and that it was time to check them. You will naturally suppose from his name that he is a Dutchman. The person to whom he made the suggestion was also a Dutchman and a particular friend of Mr. Van Vechten. This person (a Mr. Sanders) mentioned incautiously Mr. Van Vechten's idea. . . . It was soon spread and made a powerful objection against Mr. Van Vechten and his Dutch friends at the last election by one or two gentlemen who had become jealous of Mr. V.'s ascendency with the federal party. . . . Van Vechten's suggestion with Burr's manœuvres for two or three years in the Legislature and Cooper's ridiculous and overbearing conduct in Oswego County have cut up our influence in almost all the upper Counties by the roots and the last election has furnished us with melancholy proofs of the fact. It is impossible to say who will be the man set up as Governor by the Democrats, Burr has undoubtedly a view to the office, if he should fail in being President or Vice President. He certainly means to avail himself of all chances to become a great man ; and if he should be finally disappointed, it will not be owing to his want of industry—or to his modesty or virtue. . . .

If Mr. Jay sets up as Governor, I think it probable we shall

lose the election. We shall certainly do better with the Lt. Governor.

The French & British cruisers are making sad havock with our trade. Our Underwriters have within four months lost half a million of dollars. I speak of the Underwriters of this City. . . .

God bless you

R. T.

JAMES MCHENRY TO T. PICKERING.

(*Copy.*)

PHILADELPHIA, June 24, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I saw this morning and showed to Mr. Liston the extract of the letter which you communicated to me last evening dated Philadelphia 19th July 1798, transmitted for a letter written by him to James Buchanan, late of Baltimore.*

He scarcely had read two lines when he said he wrote the letter; he had not finished half of it, when he presented it to me, saying, must not every one perceive that it was mere badinage; that the tap on the shoulder—the bosom friend—and leading of Mr. Adams by the nose, were allusions to what he had been accused of by the opposers of government, in the papers; and that the observation of the fly upon the wheel must satisfy the most prejudiced that it was a letter of sport merely.

I observed that I had so considered it; and that as it respected myself, I was perfectly satisfied. It was certain, however, that the contents of the letter made a different impression in London, where it had been shown as a confidential letter, and where the circumstances which gave rise to the allusions were not known; and that when these should be forgotten in this country it might be used by disingenuous men to effect party purposes.

I asked him if he had preserved Buchanan's letters, which might serve to show, in case of need, that it was a mere sportive effusion; that if so, I thought it would be proper he should communicate them to Mr. Pickering, who stood most prominent in the piece. He did not know that he had, but would examine.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly

JAMES MCHENRY.

* See page 213 for the extract.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Philadelphia, June 26, 1800.

Dear Sir:

I lately received your private letter of the 24th of March, giving an account of James Buchanan and of his correspondence with Mr. Liston; and subjoining an extract of one of Mr. Liston's letters to Buchanan, dated July 19, 1798. This extract was of a nature so extraordinary, that I declared I should utterly disbelieve it being genuine, had you not asserted that I might rely on its authenticity. I shewed it to Mr. Wolcott & Mr. McHenry. The latter having always regularly read the Aurora, said at once, that it was merely a piece of *sportive irony;* for, said he, in the Auroras, preceding the date of Mr. Liston's letter, Mr. Pickering was called the bosom friend of Liston; it mentioned taps on the shoulders of members of Congress, and Liston's leading the President by the nose. It was thought by us proper that Mr. Liston should see the extract; and most expedient that McHenry should copy & shew it to him; for if any ill use should hereafter be made of the letter by Buchanan, or any one else, Mr. McHenry could explain the matter more satisfactorily than I who was distinguished in the letter as the "bosom friend" of Liston. Besides as you desired not to appear in the affair, unless it was necessary, Mr. McHenry as the townsman of Buchanan, might exhibit the extract, without exciting any suspicion of the source from whence the extract was received. Mr. McHenry accordingly waited on Mr. Liston, & the enclosed copy of Mr. McHenry's letter to me of the 24th shews the result. We consider Mr. Liston entirely exculpated—except of indiscretion in holding such a correspondence with such a person as Buchanan.

Yesterday Mr. Liston called on me and read to me some passages in Buchanan's Letter, which not unnaturally led to the kind of answer which was given. But Buchanan is inexcusable in exhibiting it as a *serious* communication. You say that Buchanan was in London in order to settle his affairs, which were much deranged, and he might think his views might be aided by shewing his credit & consequence in being the confidential correspondent of Mr. Liston. The latter mentioned the origin of his acquaintance with Buchanan; that his connexions in Glasgow

were respectable (you know I presume, that he is the brother of Thomas Buchanan of New York) and the acquaintance of Mrs. Liston, who received of course, with Mr. Liston, letters to James Buchanan, and on their way thro' Baltimore, they had been treated by B. with much attention. The "proper letter" which Mr. Liston says he got Genl. Washington to write was the General's letter accepting, in July, 1798, the command of the army. This was an event which no human being could foresee, and Mr. Liston's saying, "that he had prepared all this the preceding autumn," confirms (if confirmation were necessary) the correctness of the explanation which has been given. More strongly to throw ridicule on the consequence & influence in the administration of our government ascribed to him in the Aurora, he here assumes to have contemplated what no man can be imagined to have thought eight or ten months before.

I am informed that the President denies that there has been any coalition between him & Mr. Jefferson. He has also denied that he ever said there was a British faction in the Senate and among those American citizens who may be called *public men*. On this I will only say that the President is not always consistent or accurate in his remembrance. To me, he said, that Mr. Jefferson had very little of that knowledge which was necessary for a statesman ; and shortly after to McHenry, that Mr. Jefferson was a very proper person to be President of the U. States ; "and that he would sooner serve as Vice-President under him, or even as Minister resident at the Hague than be indebted for his election to *such a being* as Hamilton ;" whom in the same sentence he called a *bastard* and as much an alien as Gallatin. No one could have imagined Mr. Adams capable of such billingsgate language. But a man so entirely under the dominion of violent passions, is capable of anything. In his conversation on the 9th of May with Mr. Goodhue he vehemently expressed his resentment at some past measures of the Senate, which he asserted were designed by a "damned faction to wound his feelings." But I will give you the substance of this conversation in the inclosed extract of Mr. Goodhue's letter to me. Mr. Goodhue had forgotten some things, which he had recited to me the next morning ; among others, the charge against the Senate in this elegant expression, "and you crammed Hamilton down my throat."

The President arrived here last Friday (or Thursday) and stayed till Monday and then proceeded eastward ; unnoticed by any number of persons, and those, few of those who had been, or are, public men. By endeavoring to conciliate the democrats, he has excited only their contempt. The Aurora, I am told, is distinguished in this style.

If I continue a correspondence with you, I hope in future it will be on more agreeable subjects.

With Sincere respect & esteem &c

Yr. obed. Servt.

T. PICKERING.

The President passed thro' New York unnoticed. You will be gratified by the reception of Genl. Hamilton at Boston, as stated in Jno. Russell's paper.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM B. GOODHUE, ESQ., DATED SALEM, JUNE 2, 1800, TO T. PICKERING.

"You ask me to give you the substance of the conversation which passed between the President of the U. S. & myself on the 9th of May, when I waited on him to bid him adieu, previous to my leaving Philadelphia for home.

"The conversation or rather his relation of injuries which he thought he had received with his resentful observations relative thereto, took up a considerable time ; 'tis impossible to recollect the words precisely made use of ; the substance was as follows.

"Soon after being with him, he introduced, by some previous observations, his very uneasy sensations in his public situation, resulting from some past measures of the Senate, which he with much warmth, and even vehemence, asserted were designed by a damned faction purposely to wound his feelings & character : upon asking for an explanation, he said he alluded to the rejection of his son-in-law Col. Smith, when he nominated him Adjutant General with the rank of Brigadier ; that we had killed his daughter by doing this ; that rejection originated with Hamilton, and from him to Pickering, who he said (with extreme agitation and anger) influenced me & others to reject him ; that Col. Smith was a man of

the first military knowledge in the U. S., and was recommended to the appointment by Genl. Washington, &c, and dwelt long on this subject with great irritation. .

"Another instance he observed, with the same excessive anger, had just occurred in the Senate, purposely to wound him & his family, with respect to his late nomination of Mr. Johnson to be at the head of the Stamps, which they had postponed, postponed, postponed from day to day ; and when at last they voted upon it, they were equally divided, and the V. President gave his casting vote in favour of the nomination ; that all this was done because his son had happened to fall in love with Johnson's daughter and married her. I endeavoured to moderate his passion, by abstaining from any language that would irritate, but to no purpose ; for his resentment appeared implacable towards the conduct of the Senate in those instances, which resulted, as he said, with no other view than to wound his feelings and those of his *family ;* and that Hamilton, Pickering and some others whom he named in Massachusetts were constantly endeavouring to ruin him ; that Pickering wrote a letter to Boston to S. Higginson on the subject of his sending his last envoys to France, filled with expressions of hatred to the measure and calculated to injure him in the view of the public, and that Higginson read the letter with the same design at the insurance office in Boston ; that the measure of sending the envoys was one of the most glorious deeds he ever did ; and that he would order it to be engraved on his coffin, &c, that he was sensible that he should not be re-elected ; and after 40 years' service for the public, that he should be obliged to return to Quincy and follow the plough for a living, &c, in the strain of excessive anger on the subjects I have mentioned, and others that had an affinity to them. The conversation continued until I left him. In short, it was one continued theme of the most bitter complaint, relative to the conduct of the Senate in the cases I have mentioned and some others, whose sole object he said was to wound and ruin both him & his family, and through the whole discovered a perfect rage of passion that I could not have expected from the supreme executive."

* The President's ascribing every official act of the Senators, as

* Marked from the duplicate of Mr. P's letter.—J. M.

well as the private conversations and letters of others, who I am certain have the public good as much at heart as the P. reminds me of his abrupt declaration made at his table last winter (as reported to me by different persons). That *the King of Great Britain and his ministers had for five and twenty years past, entertained a particular resentment towards him*, and this brings to one's recollection the anecdote of Dennis the critic & Louis XIV.

T. P.

R. KING TO HIS EXCY. THE GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.

LONDON, July 2, 1800.

SIR :

Since I had the honor of writing to your Excellency, I have received from this Government a large trunk & chest of Georgia Papers, which are now on board the Ship Independent soon to sail from this Port for Savannah. These Papers are in such confusion, that I have not been able to form any judgment of their importance or value. The trunk, which was much decayed has been repaired, and from the care observed in protecting both it and the chest with mats, I am in hopes they will arrive without damage. I know not whether these are the papers seen by the person mentioned in your letter to me ; they were found among the Papers of the late Board of Trade in one of the apartments of the building occupied by the Treasury, but I have not been able to ascertain when or by whom they were brought hither. The suggestion that they were deposited in the Tower, could not have been correct, as no such papers, nor indeed any of so modern a Date are to be found there.

I shall be gratified, should these Papers supply to any considerable extent the chasm in the records of the State, and I beg you to be assured that it would afford me still greater satisfaction, if by any farther exertion on my part, we should succeed in completing them.

With perfect Respect & consideration &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE, &c.

No. 77.

LONDON, 5 July, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

The repeated disasters experienced by the Austrian Army in Swabia, must have made a strong impression upon the imperial cabinet, and being followed by the overthrow of the Army in Italy, and a conviction by which General Melas was obliged to purchase a retreat to Mantua, by the Surrender of the Fortresses and the entire evacuation of Genoa, Piedmont & Lombardy, it will surprize few persons if the Emperor has already entered into negotiations for a Second and Separate Peace. It is now more than three months since the ministers of this Country, have been in constant expectation of the conclusion of a treaty with Austria, by which in consideration of Loans, Subsidies and detachments of Bavaria & other auxiliary troops, hired by England, Austria should engage to go on with the war, and not to enter into any negotiation with France except jointly with England. This Treaty is not yet concluded, at least no information has been received of its conclusion and tho' money was prepared, I have reason to believe that not a shilling has been remitted to Vienna. This want of good understanding and mutual confidence between Vienna & London strengthens the probability that the former will pursue the course of her apparent interest, disregarding the wishes and views of the latter.

Should Austria make a peace with France, there is little doubt, whatever may be the inclination of the Ministry, that the voice of the English nation will be loud and irresistible in favor of Peace.

The Russian Troops, which served in Holland, have been embarked on board the Russian men of war, which were likewise in the English service ; and the whole sailed a few days ago for the Baltic ; the Emperor still continues his dissatisfaction towards England as well as Austria, and apprehensions are entertained among those engaged in the Northern and Eastland trade of this country, that projects are on foot between the Northern Powers that will materially affect their Interest as well as that of the Nation in the articles of Naval Stores. There are various rumours

of Engagements, about to be formed in the North for the protection of their Trade against the English. These may be well founded, or, which is full as likely, they may be mere conjectures originating in the known dissatisfaction between England and the Northern Powers.

You will have seen the accounts of the recommencement of the war in Egypt ; the blame is thrown upon England, and has doubtless much injured her influence at Constantinople, where the Russians will do nothing to assist her in regaining what she has lost.

On the whole let the decision of Austria be for peace or war, the Reputation and influence of this Country upon the Continent, if I am not mistaken, are at this time at a lower ebb than they have been at any period of the war : this certainly is not the present condition of France.

With great Respect & Esteem &c

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XIX.

N. Low to King—Suggests other Investments than U. S. Loans—King has entire Confidence in the U. S. and its Loans—Hale to King—Hamilton's Visit to Boston—Hale for the Re-election of Adams—King to Lord Grenville—American Vessels captured off Cadiz under Pretence of Breach of Blockade—No Notice of it Given—Request that an End be immediately put to these Abuses—To H. Dundas—Maryland Bank Stock—Statement relative to it—F. Ames to King—President's Toast—Intrigues about the Presidency—Hamilton's Visit—Adams' Violent Language—Speculations relative to the coming Election and the Action of the Jacobins—King to Secretary of State—Treaty between England and Austria loaning Money to the Latter, who shall not make a separate Peace—French so superior to the Austrians they may be obliged to make Peace—Cabot to King—Adams departing from the Policy of 1798 now denounces high Federalists—Congratulates the Country King is in his Position Abroad.

Mr. Low, to whom Mr. King had given in charge the care of his property in N. York during his residence in England, wrote to Mr. King to suggest other investments than in the funds of the United States Government, being alarmed by the uncertainty in his mind of their stability in consequence of the political condition of the country and want of confidence in the future. To this letter Mr. King sent an answer, showing that he had no alarm as to the Government and that he will continue to invest in the funds.

R. King to N. Low.

London, July 7th, 1800.

Dear Sir:

. . . I have also duly received your letter of the 24th of May written as I suspect under the gloomy apprehensions proceeding from the political disappointments of the four preceding

weeks. I certainly have in common with others my preferences both in regard to men and measures, and consequently in the changes that occur must feel frequent disappointments. But I have no notion that our Government, or the security of our property can or will be, in any material degree, affected by any changes that have happened or that in my opinion are likely to happen. I should be sorry for the important change that you (mention) but which I do not think will take place ; should your conjecture however prove true it would doubtless be followed by the removal of several persons whose continuance in office might be agreeable to the impartial public as well as themselves, and likewise by variations more or less considerable in the measures of administration. But I should not from thence conclude that the Government was lost, that the public faith and character were destroyed, and that property would be thrown off its foundation —really if I did believe so I should consider it the highest folly to approve not only an useless but a criminal conduct to endeavour to Support a Constitution, which at each periodical election would expose the country to so great and critical a risque ! I believe in no such consequences, and therefore will continue to invest my property in the Funds, which rest upon a security, that I am not convinced nor inclined to believe will fail. Presidents, Secretaries, Generals and Ministers—myself among them—may be removed, still the machine will move on ! Soberly and gravely there is but one change that would materially and deeply affect me, and that is the change of my Agent, whose equal I am convinced I could never obtain.

Truly & faithfully
RUFUS KING.

J. HALE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, July 9, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

By this conveyance you will receive five small pamphlets purporting to be *didactick* Orations. Respect for you & my other friends about you, not the merits of the performance, induces me to transmit it.

Our late public papers contain nothing.

A report has prevailed within a few days of Jefferson's death. This is not credited.

Hamilton has paid us a visit. Electioneering topics were his principal theme. In his mode of handling them, he did not appear to be the great general which his talents designate him. As November approaches the feelings of parties are excited & displayed & not in the most liberal manner by either of the three parties. I am decidedly for the re-election of Mr. Adams; & notwithstanding the opinions of men of more weight & intelligence than myself to the contrary, I believe Mr. A. will be the successful candidate. The interests of the country require it, in order that something like a system may appear to actuate our public councils. At present we appear all "up in the wind." Our first men are opposed to each other from false pride or ill-founded jealousy. Many resignations have taken place in the lower house of Congress. Men who have not sufficient firmness to be in a minority when a faction is predominant are vacating their seats to avoid the humiliation they would in their view otherwise experience. As the crisis approaches & as untoward circumstances seem to prevail my own evil forebodings decrease. It is sometimes easier to declare one's creed than to support it upon satisfactory ground.

Your friend & most obed srvt.

J. HALE.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, July 10, 1800.

MY LORD:

During the command of Lord St. Vincent before Cadiz, and while the Spanish fleet was in that Port, the intercourse of neutral merchants with Cadiz, was subject to a limited and occasional interruption, and the Ships of the United States, laden with innocent merchandize, tho' strictly visited, were rarely prevented from pursuing their accustomed trade with that market.

Since the departure of the Spanish fleet, and the succession of Lord Keith to that command, the vessels of the U. S. bound to and coming from Cadiz, including, as I am informed, some that had entered the Port after having been visited by the fleet under

Lord St. Vincent, have been captured under the pretence of a breach of Blockade, as well in the European seas, as in those of America ; in which quarter some very richly laden ships, regularly and openly cleared in the American Ports for Cadiz, have lately been captured and sent to Halifax by one of his Majesty's frigates, commanded by Capt. Pellew.

Several other vessels returning from Cadiz to the U. States, have on the like pretence been taken & sent for adjudication to the West Indies.

As the usual notice has not been given of the Blockade of the Port of Cadiz, I am led to conclude that none has been instituted, and consequently that the interruption of our trade, upon the charge of breaking a Blockade which did not exist, or of which we are ignorant, has been altogether irregular. I pray your Lordship to inform me whether I am correct in this supposition, and in case I am, I persuade myself that your Lordship will think it reasonable that immediate orders should be given to put an end to these Abuses in future.

I have the honor &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO H. DUNDAS, ESQ.

(*Private.*)

MILL HILL, July 11, 1800.

SIR :

Sir William Pulteney has been so obliging as to inform me of the conversation between you and him respecting the claim of the State of Maryland to a quantity of Bank Stock that belonged to the colony of Maryland, and in consequence of his opinion that I might without impropriety write you a confidential letter, with the hope of engaging your influence in favor of a speedy settlement of that claim. I have drawn up from memory, for the Papers are not before me, a short statement, that I believe exhibits a pretty accurate view of the case. In different conversations with Lord Grenville, I have always found in him a disposition favorable to the claim, but his Lordship has constantly ended by referring me to the Lord Chancellor. I have often, tho' not

lately, conversed with the Chancellor, who has uniformly expressed himself upon this subject in a way that led me to suppose, and to assure the State of Maryland that the Stock would be transferred to me for it's use. Of late I have declined mentioning the subject to the Chancellor, lest I should give occasion to his Lordship to think me importunate ; but I may be permitted to observe to you, that the delay that has happened, has on more than one occasion proved injurious to our public affairs, always affected by public opinion ; and as an apology for the solicitude that I now feel upon this subject, as well as for the trouble I give you in receiving this letter, I take the liberty to add that it is my sincere opinion that a most favorable and beneficial influence upon a measure of great importance to the United States, and perhaps not indifferent to others, would be effected by the transfer of this Stock in season to be known by the Legislature of Maryland at its meeting in the beginning of November.

With great Respect &c

RUFUS KING.

Maryland Bank Stock.

Several years before the American War, the Colony of Maryland by a tax collected from its inhabitants, raised a sum of money which was remitted to three London Merchants of the name of Hanbury, Grove and Russell, to be invested in Bank Stock.

The object of the investment was the creation of a small annuity applicable to certain public purposes in the Colony. This Stock, the Dividends having been invested in new capital, must amount at this time to about £100,000.

In the course of the American War, the real estates of all British subjects were confiscated by the State of Maryland, and property belonging to both Hanbury & Russell was included in the confiscation. On the return of Peace, Maryland called upon the Trustees, Hanbury, Grove & Russell to account. Grove lost nothing in Maryland, and did not object to account. Hanbury consented to account in consequence of an agreement made with the Agent of Maryland by which his loss is to be compensated as soon as the Stock is transferred to the State. Russell refused to account, and set up a claim to indemnify himself out of the Stock, for his Property confiscated in Maryland ; taking care notwith-

standing to prefer his claim with those of the American Loyalists for compensation from the British Government. At this stage of the Business the Agent of Maryland filed a Bill in chancery against the trustees to oblige them to account. Grove was indifferent which side prevailed; Hanbury united with the Agent of Maryland, as his compensation depends upon the transfer being made to the State. Russell still opposed, and preferred his claim for compensation out of the Stock, which was ordered to be transferred to the Accountant General of the Court of Chancery, in whose name it now stands.

The suit has been upwards of 15 years depending.

After hearing one or two arguments, the Chancellor informally gave his opinion that the Stock had belonged to the Colony of Maryland, a corporation created by the Crown; that this Corporation had been dissolved, and that the property in question accrued to the King; that the suit before him was brought by an independent State, over which he had no jurisdiction, and for this reason that he must dismiss the Bill, suggesting at the same time that he would suspend doing so, as perhaps his Majesty might signify his pleasure that the Stock should be transferred to the State of Maryland.

As soon as this opinion was pronounced, Russell communicated it to the Commissioners charged with the claims of the American Loyalists who thereupon granted their certificate of the amount of Russell's Loss, which was immediately presented and paid at the Treasury. This payment put an end to the only impediment on the part of the Trustees to the transfer of the Stock.

Lord Baltimore and several others, who had no connexion with the Suit, but who lost Property in Maryland, preferred claims for a share of this Stock. All these claimants, except the Assignees of a Bankrupt of the name of Buchanan, who are said to have neglected to ask compensation as American Loyalists, have it is understood been compensated by the British Government, and none of the claims except Buchanan's, are thought meritorious by the Chancellor; Buchanan is stated, to have been tenant in common with —— Russell, of an Iron-Work in Maryland, the whole of which is alleged to have been confiscated on account of the supposed delinquency of Russell, and tho' there is really no foundation for this allegation, it seems to have had sufficient influence

to discriminate the case of Buchanan from others. Except this case there is not any known impediment against the signification of the King's pleasure to the Chancellor that the Stock in question should be transferred to the American Minister for the use of the State of Maryland.

To remove this impediment, the American Minister is ready, if it shall be required, to engage his influence, which he doubts not would prove effectual, that a reasonable consideration and settlement of Buchanan's claim shall be made ; or he would himself provisionally settle the claim as soon as the stock is transferred. On the other side, Hanbury, one of the Trustees, who neither asked nor received compensation from the British Government, but relied upon the settlement with the Agent of Maryland, by which his losses are to be compensated as soon as the stock is transferred to the State, can obtain nothing until that transfer is effected.

The Legislature of Maryland, not feeling the force of the Fiction, by which the property in question is supposed to have accrued to the Crown, in consequence of the dissolution of the colonial corporation, a dissolution to which the King gave his consent in the Treaty of Peace, which is understood to have secured to the State all the Property belonging to the Colony, is annually engaged in an Enquiry respecting this Property, the Delays and impediments in the recovery of which excite and disseminate dissatisfaction, and every year do more and more injury to that harmony and good-will, which it is so much to be desired may long subsist between the two countries. There are, moreover, weighty and peculiar considerations belonging to the present time which it is hoped may have an influence in bringing this long depending claim to a satisfactory settlement. July 1800.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

LONDON, July 13, 1800.

DR. SIR :

. . . As I can say nothing new about the late changes, I will say nothing. No one esteemed or respected Col. P. more than I did & do. I am solicitous to learn what Effects this re-

moval will have at the Eastward, where the Col. has many and influential friends. . .

R. K.

P. S. Gore says you told him that Hamilton denies Sr. Wm. Scott's Law respecting Blockades ; I have excellent dispositions to do the same, and have given the Subject some consideration but the argument after all has Force. I shd. be glad if H. wd. send me a precis of the Argument in opposition.

F. Ames to R. King. (To William Payne.)

Boston, 15th July, 1800.

My good Friend :

. . . It is getting to be the fashion here again to call the federalists the British faction. Nothing can be more false, for though such men respect the laws and Courts and Government of Britain and detest the arbitrary tyrants of France yet they allow no country any kind of competition in point of respect & affection with our own. You will be surprised to hear that the P. of the U. S lately at the Faneuil Hall dinner on the visitation of the Schools gave as a volunteer toast "The proscribed Patriots Hancock & Adams." This was well understood by the Jacobins whom it will not gain, and begins to be comprehended by a small number of correct thinkers whom it will not embolden to speak out. Never was there a more singular and mysterious state of parties. The plot of an old Spanish play is not more complicated with underplot. I scarcely trust myself with the attempt to unfold it.

There is no doubt that the Legislature of this State determined to choose Electors by the Legisle. (instead of the district mode as formerly) with the view to secure the votes for *two* federal candidates. The friends of a certain great man manifested at the time a strong dislike of the measure and the Jacobin Gazettes poured forth accusations agt. the Federalists as intriguers agt. *that man* whose re-election they had secretly resolved to defeat by art & management, though they did not dare to confess it. Since his return to the State the new position of parties begins to be perceived. Gen. H. came this way and spoke in most compa-

nies without reserve. You know he is the most frank of men. A real or affected alarm is attempted to be spread & the Massachusetts feelings are to be called up to defend their own State born patriot. The great man has been south as far as Alexandria. making his addressers acquainted with his revolutionary merits, and claiming, almost in plain words at New London, office as the only reward. Whether these answers and toasts are to be considered as the first steps towds. reviving the revolutionary spirit you must judge for yourself; his language is bitter even to outrage and swearing and calling names against many who once were and I believe still are thought as good as any men in the Country, he inveighs against the British faction and the Essex Junto like one possessed. I have not seen him and from the reception given to one person I do not anticipate any pleasure in a visit. It would be embarrassing to know what to say or how to behave in case of rudeness & insult which I have reason to believe wd. not fail to be thrown in the faces of some persons unaccustomed to such things. In the mean time, every exertion is making to spread the passions that enrage and almost madden him, and it seems to be expected that the ferment of the people awe the Genl. Court in Nov. next to choose Electors who will vote for Mr A & *throw away* the votes for the other Candidate. This game will be played in Connecticut, N. Hampshire and R. Island, and no measures will be too intemperate that tend to make the Citizens revolutionary enough to make the man of 1775 the man of 1800. Whether this fervor will melt the tender hearts of the Jacobins is not clear. At present it seems they are not disposed to give up their old favorite and chief for a new one whose repentance and conversion are rather late. But I think it probable that his sincerity will be made more & more manifest till they perceive that he is no longer the supporter of, or supported by, the federalists Then perhaps they will take him, if they find they cannot carry their own candidate. This ultimate resort to him is the more a matter of fair calculation in this political jumble, as it may then appear to be the best thing they can do for their own cause & the most fatal to that of their adversaries, as it would insure their division & their discomfiture. Their Chief also might be satisfied with a place which would confer the first power and the second rank,

but without any responsibility. Thus the party and its' head might severally find their interests in such an arrangement. Col. B. of New York also is at market and may give his influence to the highest bidder. Thus you see no affair can be more involved in doubt or more dependent on intrigue, caprice or accident I have not half disclosed the thoughts that hurry along through my brain and leave as they pass some very unpleasant marks.

There is also another consequence to be apprehended Those who have need of the aid that popular impulse can lend to their designs probably will know that to command that impulse and to have all it's force it is necessary to agitate the popular passions. A cold multitude like a cold iron is too hard for the hammers—red hot, they are ductile to the pincers. How shall this heat, this welding heat, be imparted, and kept up? no way is so sure and obvious as re-exciting the rage against G. B. A war, or measures leading to war will heat every body red hot. Whether these steps are to be taken in all events, and of choice, or whether they are to be only the expedients of necessity and are to be adopted as occasions call for them, I will not say But when a man thinks no cause good or safe *without him*, he may possibly act with as much blindness as extravagance when he resolves rather to hazard the ships than his captaincy.

Yr friend.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 79.

LONDON, July 18, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

On the 20th of June and probably before the convention concluded between the French and Austrian Generals was known by the Cabinet, a Treaty between England and Austria was signed at Vienna, in which the former engages to advance to the latter a loan of two millions Sterling, to bear interest from the expiration of six months after the conclusion of the war, and each engages to the other to prosecute the war with vigour, and not to enter into separate negotiations, nor to conclude a separate peace during the continuance of the treaty, which for this purpose, is limited to one year, commencing on the 1st of last March. Tho' we are without precise information of the terms of Peace, offered

to the Emperor, as well as of the tenor of his answer, it seems to be believed that the terms did not differ materially from those of Leoben, and that the answer turned upon the Emperor's engagements, not to treat separately, than upon the terms themselves.

The French continue to maintain their superiority upon the Danube, and having obliged the Austrians to retire from Ulm, the greater part of Bavaria, including Munich, has fallen into their hands. We hear of new armies to be levied in the hereditary States of the Emperor, but the campaign seems to be irrecoverable ; and from the Position and apparent superiority of the French, the Emperor may be obliged to make peace as the sole means of saving his Capital.

We have no late intelligence from Paris respecting our Envoys. Some weeks ago I entertained a hope that their mission was near to a satisfactory termination. I feel some concern on account of the Delay of this Event, which under the present circumstances I cannot but consider as desireable.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c &c

RUFUS KING.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

July 19. 1800.

MY DEAR SIR :

We all have felt as much as you can the necessity of union—but as in physics there is a heterogeneity which will sometimes prevent the amalgamation of substances, so in Morals which include politics there is often the same difficulty.

Mr. Gore can give you a complete view of our affairs to the time of his departure since which they have advanced in the same course according to my expectations—it was foreseen very early that the P. after departing from the policy of 98 which was the Washington System wou'd necessarily separate himself from the principal advocates of that system & that he wou'd indemnify himself for the loss of their personal support by recruits levied among their opponents—it is not extraordinary therefore that he shou'd now denounce the high Federalists as "a Junto of incorrigible Aristocrats" an Oligarchy "a british Faction &c" "as a set of men more inimical to the Country than the worst Democrats

or Jacobins"—nor is it extraordinary that he should toast "the proscribed patriots Hancock & Adams" last week in Fanueil Hall.—This last incident & some others of a similar nature will open the eyes of judicious & discerning men. Yet for a thousand reasons public opinion will come right but slowly if at all. Many will shut their eyes against the light because it wou'd shew them what they do not wish to see. I am often struck with the opposition that is made to truth by men who have probably no other motive than the desire to shun an unpleasant duty, which the admission of truth wou'd impose. No tolerable opinion can yet be formed of the issue of the presidential Election—great pains are taken here by Mr. A's friends to engage the popular passions on his side with a hope of influencing the Legislature in the appt. of Electors, & I have no doubt Mr. A will favor the election of Jefferson in preference to a federal Rival, as far as he dares: it is too obvious that these disgraceful divisions at home are an encouragement to foreign nations to treat us with disrespect; nothing however can be more impolitic than it wou'd be for any nation *antijacobinic* to do any thing which must destroy the *antijacobinical party* in the U. S.—this party is undoubtedly composed of men who will again govern after some vicissitudes unless events from abroad shou'd be so unpropitious as to divest them of the influence which they deservedly enjoy among the people.—it is among the most consoling ideas I entertain at this moment that *you* will by doing ample justice to this argument save us from misfortunes which for many years wou'd be irreparable.

Your faithful & affte friend

G. C.

G. Cabot to R. King.

July 21, 1800.

My dear Sir:

It is not because the P. has done many things which are in themselves unwise that he is strongly censured by certain men, but it is because those things taken in connection with others & illustrated by his own comments prove that he has in a good degree deserted the system which was established by Washington & which as understood & practised has been conceived to be wise & just.

Departing himself from the principles & policy of which those men are the strong advocates he must separate from the men themselves : this general motive is daily strengthened by a thousand collateral ones. Envy of the fame of Washington & a detestation of the men who are pretended to have contributed to it without believing it to be merited, has operated too powerfully to be concealed. As the most decided Federalists & most respecta ble men are daily detached from his train, their places are filled in the ratio of 10 to 1 from other sorts of men. The patriots of 75 are invoked & every one who is the Enemy of his Enemies will of course be admitted to be his friend. It is said at Q——y that Mr. Jefferson is a wise & good man, & if elected P. will conduct well, & the Country has nothing to fear but from a british faction &c. These things are alarming to sensible men who see in them a desperate disposition & resentment as dangerous as implacable : but the community will learn to think right but slowly if at all. . . .

It is too soon to conjecture who will be P. I will write you my opinion *when I have one.*

Yours fideliter,

G. C.

CHAPTER XX.

King to Pickering—Unfeigned Regrets at the Changes in the executive Departments—Though with his Reputation pure and unblemished—His Son with him—King to Adams—Danish Frigate resisted a Search of a British Squadron—May increase the Dissatisfaction of Northern Powers with England—McHenry to King—Acknowledges with Thanks Faden's Collection of Maps and Count Rumford's Field Piece—Presidential Election—Bingham to King—Duane's Arrest ordered by the Senate—Absconded until after Session closed—Treated as a Persecuted Patriot and Martyr to Liberty of the Press—Lack of Energy in the Government because of Jacobinical Principles—Government moved to Washington—A general Peace would be advantageous to this Country—King to Secretary of State—Austria may be obliged to treat with France—English Expedition probably to Belleisle—Search of Convoy under a Danish Frigate—May lead to important Consequences—Right of Search cannot be submitted to by Neutrals as a Principle, though perhaps in a modified Form—Blockade at Cadiz—Troup to King—New York Legislature consists of the Essence of Jacobinism—Armstrong likely to be made Senator—Hamilton has been, Burr is going to the East.

R. King to Col. Pickering.

London, July 25, 1800.

Dear Sir :

Before the receipt of your letter of the 28th of May, we had heard of the changes in the executive departments which it mentions. So far as you are affected by them, I may be permitted to express my unfeigned concern and regrets, in common with your numerous and respectable friends ; to whom it is no small satisfaction, that your Reputation, obtained and established by many years of public service in different employs, remains pure and unblemished. I cannot help hoping that something will occur to divert you from the plan of retirement that you speak of in your letter to your son, and which may place your family in a situation, to preserve a more easy intercourse with the society in which it

has been accustomed to live. It will afford you great pleasure to know that your son, who is with me, continues to preserve, and in all respects to merit, the excellent character with which he arrived in this country; to an amiable disposition, and uncommon diligence and attention, he adds a thirst for knowledge, a precision in attaining it, greater than I recollect to have observed in any person of his age, and such, should I be so happy as to witness it, as shall reward all my solicitude concerning the Education of my own children.

I wished your son to visit France, while our Envoys were there but on account of his connexion with me, I thought it expedient first to consult them, which I did thro' Mr. Sitgreaves, who proceeded to Paris soon after his arrival here; not having received any reply, I have concluded that they are not disposed to encourage his journey. If our misunderstandings with France are settled, he may see Paris, and even make a short tour in Germany this autumn or next Spring. I shall take care to provide him with such letters as would be likely to increase the advantages of his German Excursion; as he is destined for the profession of Law, I think he shd. not remain in Europe more than a year from this time, and taking into view the prospect of a turn upon the Continent, I am disposed to believe it will be for his advantage to remain abroad for that term.

With Sincere Regards &c

RUFUS KING.

Your son's constitution and health appear to me to be stronger and better than when he arrived in England; both are good.

R. KING TO MR. ADAMS.

LONDON, July 28, 1800.

SIR:

I avail myself of the opportunity of a vessel about sailing from Hull for Boston to say that a Danish frigate with a small number of ships under her convoy, having resisted a search attempted by a squadron of British frigates, has been together with the Merchant Ships captured and sent into an English Port, several persons on each side were killed in the action between the frigates.

If Denmark on this occasion acts in concert with the other Northern Powers, this encounter may be followed by most important consequences. Some very recent regulations, adopted in France, respecting the importation of English productions in neutral bottoms, are supposed, but with what truth I am unable to judge, to have relation to the dissatisfaction of the Northern Powers towards England.

The Armistice concluded in Italy has been extended to the armies upon the Rhine and the Danube, and appearances are strongly in favor of the existence of a negotiation for Peace.

I hear & know nothing of our Envoys,

With the most perfect Respect &c

RUFUS KING.

J. McHENRY TO R. KING.

BALTIMORE, Aug. 1, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I have received your letter (duplicate) dated 23d April last, advising me that you have sent an Atlas collected by Faden, which contains almost all the best maps and latest published in England and upon the Continent, but that not having received Faden's account you cannot tell the cost. . . . I beg you, Sir, to accept my sincere acknowledgments for the trouble you have taken in causing the collection to be made, . . . having always intended the collection for my private use, of course on my private account. I have acknowledged in an official letter, written towards the close of my duties as Secretary of war, the receipt of a model of a Field piece, together with a memoir from Count Rumford, and at the same time, addressed to the Count himself my considerations and thanks. I also have written to you respecting the incombustible cartridge paper, one shipment of which, owing to some error in the address, as was represented to me, was lost to the public, having arrived at New York, been lodged in the Custom house, remained there the legal time, and then sold as common coarse paper. The particulars being on the files of the War office, I have not now access to, but take the liberty of referring you to my letters on the subject, which I hope have ere this been received.

The minds of our citizens, particularly of our politicians, are now directed towards the Presidential election—how it will eventuate, is perhaps uncertain; a pretty general disposition seems to be expressed by those of a certain cast to run Mr. Adams and General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney equally and as strongly as possible. The other side adhere as heretofore to Mr. Jefferson. Many of your former friends are much induced to wish ultimate success may be the lot of General Pinckney, and for this wish they conceive reasons to exist of the greatest magnitude. . . .

Your friend & Hble Servt.

JAMES MCHENRY.

W. BINGHAM TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, August 6th, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

From the opinion you entertain of the Want of Decision on the part of the Senate, with respect to Duane,* you will not be surprised at the Result. After many tedious preparatory Steps, which seemed to argue a Doubt of the Competency of their Powers, they at length issued their Warrant, & Duane absconded. Very little Exertion was made to discover & arrest him. He appeared publicly immediately after the Session & assumed great Consequence from his sufferings, as a persecuted Patriot, & Martyr to the Liberty of the Press. He elevated himself into such Notice, as to be repeatedly toasted at the democratic Feasts, on

* The coming election of President promised to be close and might give rise to disputes in counting the electoral vote. That of Pennsylvania was doubtful and dependent upon the mode of choosing the electors. A republican Governor, McKean, had just been elected and the House of Representatives desired to have the electors chosen by general ticket in which the Senate which was federal refused to concur, for a new election might change this state of the things and thus give Jefferson the vote of the State. To meet this condition Senator James Ross of Penna. was instrumental in bringing a bill into the Senate to decide disputed Presidential elections and to determine the legality or illegality of the votes, by referring these to a committee appointed by ballot from both Houses of Congress who should examine the ballots in secret session and decide absolutely what States to admit or reject. The bill was passed through a second reading, but immediately afterwards it was published in full in the *Aurora*, with comments by the editor Duane, showing that it

the 4th July. As the sedition Law contemplated this offense, & attaches a Penalty to it, I thought it would have been more expedient to have sent him to the Courts, which would have effectually punished him. D. & C's Letter passed off, without any Notice on the part of the Senate.

I every day see & lament the Want of Energy in the Administration of our Government, which is rather an increasing Evil, & I fear, will be the Cause of much Tribulation before it is corrected. Whilst the Nations of Europe are benefitting by the Excesses of the French Revolution, & invigorating their Executives, this Country is about experiencing a greater degree of Relaxation in its Government, from the prevalence of Jacobin principles, which are certainly gaining Ground in many of the States. The Party which is attached to them have a better System & more Industry than their Opponents & from Congeniality of Sentiment, make a greater Impression on the lower Class of People. I am apprehensive of the Result of the Contest, which is about taking place for the Election of a President. I flatter myself in its terminating favorably: but there can be no well grounded Hope, whilst one Party is disorganized, & the other acts as a firm & united Phalanx.

The Government has already removed to Washington, which I hope will be able conveniently to accommodate its different Departments. I shall attend the approaching Session, but not afterwards; having long since determined on my Resignation, which was not essentially influenced by a Change in the local Position of Congress.

would enable the committee to disqualify some of the electors for reasons which, either technical or other they might deem sufficient to accomplish their purpose, and because the bill itself had been drafted in a caucus of federal members, secretly convened, and possibly controlled by a portion of the members. The Senate, under the influence of the federal members, deeming this a breach of its privileges and the comments "false, defamatory, scandalous and malicious," summoned Duane before it and tho' he at first appeared, he finally, by the advice of his counsel, refused to plead upon the merits of the case, having been denied the right to question the power of the Senate to pass such a measure. In consequence he was found guilty of contempt and a warrant was ordered to be drawn for his arrest. He however avoided its service by absenting himself until the close of the Session, and thus the matter passed over. The Bill passed the Senate, but not the House. "D. & C.'s letter" was that sent to Duane by his Counsel Dallas & Cooper, upon which he acted.—Ed.

Should a general Peace take place in Europe, this Country will experience great advantages from the new & more orderly State of Things. At present the Minds of our People are as much heated by the Events which are passing in Europe, as if they were engaged in the Contest. We seem to have less National Pride & Affection than any other People. However there appears to be some reason to suppose that a maritime War may exist, after the Continental Powers have settled their present Differences as a jealousy towards G. Britain, from its naval Preponderance, seems to be taking possession of some of the Northern Powers.

Our Friend Col. Pickering has removed to Easton & is preparing to make a bold Incursion into the Wilderness & there establish his Family. His Lands are good & well situated & I have no doubt will fully recompence the Labor & Expence attending their Improvement. He will add great Value to his property from his personal Residence as he will attract a great Number of Settlers, who will be induced to give a Preference to his Neighborhood. . . .

With sincerity & Esteem
I am
Yours &c
WM. BINGHAM.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 80.

LONDON, August 6, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

The armistice in Italy has been extended to the Rhine and the Danube, and notwithstanding the recent Convention between Austria and England that neither Power during its continuance shall treat separately, should England show a backwardness to negotiate, Austria may be obliged to conclude a separate Treaty. Some persons believe that a negotiation for a general peace has been begun, while others suppose that England will endeavor to induce Austria to try one more campaign before she sincerely acquiesces in another attempt to negotiate. The English forces assembled at Minorca are supposed to be 12 or 15 thousand strong ; these would probably be employed with the Austrians in

Italy, should the war continue. An Expedition of considerable force is sailing from the English Ports, which from the manner of its equipments is conjectured to be going against Belleisle, an Island that in possession of the English would enable them to interrupt the communication between Brest and the French Ports to the south of it, and from whence Brest receives the chief supplies for the support of its marine.

A small Squadron of English frigates having fallen in with a Danish frigate bound to the Mediterranean with several Danish merchantmen under her convoy, insisted upon searching them ; which being refused a battle ensued that ended in the capture of the Danish frigate and the ships under her convoy, the whole of which has been sent into the Downs.

The Danish Government has been accustomed in former wars to send convoys with her merchantmen, and has never acquiesced, as is alledged, in the claim of the Belligerents to search them. Immediately after the capture of the two Swedish Envoys in 1798, Denmark explained her sentiments upon this subject to England, in opposition to which England maintained the claim, and as I hear in March last year, gave notice at Copenhagen that she would enforce it.

The capture of this convoy has excited considerable attention, and if I am not mistaken some inquietude ; a Fleet of English merchantmen about sailing for the Baltic has been stopped, and a person sent to Copenhagen to ascertain the view of its Government.

It was at first supposed that a league to restrain the maritime pretensions and practices of England, had been formed between the four Northern Powers, and that, for the purpose of bringing the Question to issue, this convoy had been sent with express orders to the Commander of the frigate to resist with force any attempt to search them. At present it is thought that no such league has been concluded, on the contrary that the most perfect harmony does not exist between Denmark & Russia, and tho' the capture may lead to important consequences with regard to the commercial intercourse between England and the North of Europe, that the sending of this convoy was not a measure concerted between Denmark & any other Power.

In a late argument in the Swedish case before the Commission-

ers of appeal in Prize cases, it was asserted by the King's advocate that we had given orders to our ships of war to permit the search of our merchant ships under their convoy. I have been asked whether that assertion is correct; but not having received any such information, I have not been able to satisfy the enquiry. Many modern Treaties and several of ours contain a stipulation that the Presence of a national ship of war shall exempt the vessels under her convoy from search. However correct the general principle may be upon which England founds the right of search and capture, the execution of this right for reasons heretofore suggested is in general so partial to the Belligerent and so injurious and often oppressive to neutrals, that it seems to me impossible that the latter can submit to it, if they are able to devise any prudent means of avoiding it. It was from this conviction among other causes that the project of the armed neutrality was resorted to. However desirable, there is reason to believe that this system can never become general, and, without it, it will never afford the security it aims at.

But may not a more limited, and under equitable Regulations a more unexceptionable and practical Plan be devised for the protection of the innocent trade of neutrals by national convoys? And is it certain that England may not be willing to agree to it? The Doctrine that free bottoms make free goods, is in direct opposition to the ancient Law, that war gives the Belligerent a right to seize the goods of his Enemy, wherever he meets with them without the Territory of *his friends;* but as war does not give to the Belligerent a Right to seize the goods of his friends, is he not required by the principles of Justice to agree in such equitable Regulations, as by distinguishing the goods of a friend from those of an Enemy, shall secure his friend from the injuries to which he otherwise might be exposed, and does not the courtesy and mutual convenience of nations engage them to respect each other's word in matters of equal or superior moment?

Some Americans recently arrived from France, and who pretend to know what is passing between our Envoys & the French Government, state that the negotiation a few days ago was on the point of breaking off, but that it has been resumed & may yet attain a satisfactory termination; tho' I am not able from any information I have on the subject to appreciate the credit due to

this Report, the continuance of the Envoys at Paris gives me hopes that they will not return without finishing the business of the Mission.

Having heard of the capture of several of our vessels by British Cruizers both in the American and European seas under pretence of a breach of the blockade of Cadiz, I wrote a note to Lord Grenville on the 10th of July representing this interruption of our Trade, and observing that while Lord St. Vincent commanded before Cadiz, and the Spanish Fleet was in that Port, our Ships, tho' strictly visited, were permitted to enter it ; that since Lord Keith had succeeded to the command and the Spanish fleet had left the Port, our vessels had in some instances been turned away, and in others captured ; that as the usual notice of the existence of the Blockade of Cadiz had not been given, I inferred that none had been instituted, and requested that orders might be given to put an end to the abuse arising from the supposed Blockade of that Port. I have received no answer to this note, but have heard that a vessel taken on her passsage to Cadiz, and lately sent into an outport, has been released.

With perfect Esteem & Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 9 Augt. 1800.

DEAR SIR :

. . . There is no doubt that some honest Jacobin will be appointed to succeed Lawrance (as U. S. Senator). Our Legislature now consists of the very essence of Jacobinism. It is not unlikely that Armstrong will be appointed, who being weary of waiting for federal honors has at length declared that he has discovered that he has long worn his political coat wrong side out, and that he now wears the right side out. He has lately published some of the most virulent and Jacobinical pieces agt. the administration of the government and particularly agt. General Washington, Hamilton, Jay, Gouverneur Morris, &c., that have made their appearance for a long time. I never have believed and I never shall believe, after his attempt to create a mutiny in the army at the close of the Revolutionary war, that he has a heart fit to be

trusted with any important interests of his country. I allude to his celebrated address to the Soldiers.* . . .

Hamilton lately returned from a tour through the Eastern States, where he was very attentively and affectionately received. It is said the most honorary dinner ever known in Boston was given to him by the Magistrates.

Burr, whom Church calls our chief Consul, is in very high glee; He entertains much company and with elegance. I understand he is in a day or two going to the Eastward, and, I presume, on business of the ensuing election. He seems from his manners to be very sanguine of success. . .

Yours, R. T.

* Newburg Letters.

CHAPTER XXI.

Cabot to King—Effect of Election of Adams or Pinckney or Jefferson—Pinckney's Election would array true Men on his Side—Hamilton thinks Jefferson will be chosen—King to President Adams—Envoys' Negotiation with France probably broken off—Ames to King—Shallow Reason, Impulse, Caprice and Prejudice for Mission to France—Unless Federalists unite and run the two federal Candidates, Jefferson will be elected—Our Government is republican, our Opinions democratic—Adams's Ground the same now as before—Federalists never knew where they were—Clamor loud he is to be sacrificed—Unless Massachusetts Electors vote for Adams and General Pinckney both, Jefferson will be elected—Adams acts as if he did not hate him—Speculations on European Affairs as affecting those of U. S.—King to Pickering—Cannot explain late Occurrences at Home—Choice of Electors in New England—May not the Issue of the Mission to France influence this—Deprecates the Policy of exciting Prejudices and Passions of New England—Liston's Explanations such as he expected—To Secretary of State—Negotiations between France and Austria going on, both recruiting their Armies—Troup to King—Adams's Letter to French Consul—Jefferson attacked on Ground of his religious Opinions—Burr's Return from the East—Democrats say he is to run with Jefferson.

G. Cabot to R. King.

Augt. 9, 1800.

My dear Sir :

. . . The newspapers will give you some ideas of our politicks & I cou'd give you little more than conjectures if I were to add to them. Mr. Gore observed before he left us that the separation of the P. from his former friends wou'd detach from us many good men. This is already verified ; we have the unpopular side & you know how few men are willing to be ranged on that side ; I think however we are strong in our principles, patriotic in our views & unanswerable in our arguments. The P., I am told, acts like himself ; he sometimes praises us in strong terms ; at others he denounces us in a manner that outrages all decency. Altho' I shun politicks as much as I can & wish to avoid them altogether, yet you see I use the terms *us* & *we*, for I am made one of the

"*damned Faction*" by the opinions I am known to *maintain.* In looking forward to the election of President there is obviously such a balance of advantages & disadvantages in each possible issue as makes one almost at ease about it : if Adams prevails it may be expected that he will persist in strengthening his popularity by sacrificing the old federal cause & all its advocates who shall have virtue enough to adhere to it, to their opponents : if Pinckney shou'd be elected he will have the cordial support of those only who are now detached from Mr. Adams, but he will be feebly supported by Mr. Adams's present adherents & by many of them he will be abandoned & probably opposed. If Jefferson is elected the Federalists will be reunited & will be perhaps sufficiently powerful to deter him from Jacobin excesses. On the whole I see but one reason to wish strongly for the success of Pinckney & that is *the true men* will then be arrayed on the side of the Chief of the Nation under the banner of the Constitution : they will be in the places where the wise & good ought always to be found, & if they can not do all the good they wish & the Country needs, yet ultimately they will succeed there if it is possible for them to succeed anywhere.

Meanwhile let us hope that, while we encounter these difficulties incidental to the nature of our Govt., no nation which opposes the spirit of Jacobinism will contribute to its establishment here. This may be done or prevented in a great degree by the policy G. B. shall pursue. The blind animosity of our people to G. B. is a powerful instrument for Ambition to work with. Men who know its injustice will nevertheless use it & if we engage in hostilities the Clamourers against G. B. will be the idols of popular worship & those who have resisted this madness will be disgraced. It is so manifestly for the interest of G. B. to prevent if possible this disaster to the party here, whose policy must be always anti-gallican, that it wou'd seem to reflect on the sagacity of the British Cabinet to doubt their seeing it.

While I am writing, a letter is put into my hand from Hamilton which contains the information he has collected concerning the election—from all which it is probable that Jefferson will be President—but it is too soon to judge *satisfactorily.*

Yours aff'y & faithfully,

G. C.

R. King to His Excellency John Adams.

London, August 11, 1800.

Sir:

In the Paris papers of the 6th instant is an article respecting the American negotiation that is drawn up with more care and greater knowledge of the subject than is usual in a mere Paragraph of the Editors; and when considered in connexion with the present state of the French Press, and the rumours of a like tenor that have prevailed during the last week, leads to the belief that our mission has failed. I inclose the article, the authenticity of which will be ascertained in the course of a few days. If the negotiation is broken off upon the points, and in the manner represented, we can be at no loss for the object, and in order to give it a greater chance of success, I shall not be disappointed in hearing that Commissioners will be sent to the United States as soon as our Envoys leave France.

With the most perfect Respect &c. &c.

Rufus King.

F. Ames to R. King.

August 19, 1800.

I put myself prodigiously at my ease in writing to you, and as I have a knack of flattering myself, I make it out that you will not dispute my claim. It is exceedingly convenient to me to ascertain my footing—for I struggle with my indolence before I can undertake to write at all, and I believe never fail to write so lackadaysically as to convince my correspondent that I have *not* gained the victory.

I had some thoughts of writing to Gore, but perhaps he is taken and at this moment professing to love soup maigre better than roast beef. I ought and intended to write to Payne to whom I owe every sentiment that belongs of right to a prodigiously clever fellow. But I am sure he w'd curse my politics and wish from his soul I could write the news from Boston. He must excuse me. The Boston Fair are not communicative to me and for my life I could not fill a single page with anecdote or scandal, which latter I know he abominates. Therefore it is, excuse me, Hopson's choice to

write to you, which I mention as an excuse for obtruding a letter so unlike, as I foresee this will be, to any other that a statesman will receive. Our affairs are so much influenced by tattle and vulgar prejudice that nothing w'd more surely mislead you than the position of correct political principles and the proper inferences from them. Therefore your very wise political correspondents will tell you anything sooner than the truth. For not one of them will look for anything but profound reasons of state at the bottom of the odd superstructure of parties here. There is nothing of the kind at the bottom. There is indeed a good deal of it on the *outside.* In other words, no such reasons are motives, they are pretexts. Calculations of prudence and almost the gift of prophetic foresight are offered as a vindication by some apologists for the Mission to France, now established and glorified by Buonaparte's victories. Others pretend that the exorbitant Naval power of G. B. is an evil, & a close alliance with France the remedy. Never was there a time when such shallow reasons were imagined to vindicate a thing that did not originate from any reason, but sudden *impulse*, caprice & prejudice. You are no stranger to multitudes, nor to the things that give them their creeds & their passions. Judge how difficult it is for men who never once suspected that they are not of *the multitude* to analyse principles, measures and characters, and who cannot perceive that they ought not to stir when their leader has deserted them. It is incomprehensible to them that any Federalists should pretend that the *new* ground he has taken is not the *same* he occupied before he openly accused his friends and awkwardly tried to win his adversaries. They never knew *where* they were, they only knew who was *with* them and *before* them. This confusion of ideas, so natural to those who have but few of them, has animated the State street patriots of our Metropolis. I mean nothing disrespectful to them in the observation, for I think them clever & well informed. But though abundantly capable of reasoning, they are like seven eighths of mankind, too much at ease to submit to so irksome a task. Opinions that lie on the surface are better than such as are in the mine, and are to be had only by hard digging. Popular opinions too defend themselves and give fees to their advocates. But such as are sound and profound require labor to find and Courage, Patience

and Talent to maintain. Boston, like the rest of the world, is impressible and is impressed.

There is no doubt that our Legislature was strongly disposed to chose Electors to vote for Adams & P. But since a certain Great Man returned from the seat of Gov't, the clamor has been loud that he is to be sacrificed and tricked out of his place. The Essex Junto is cursed and lampooned. Now, what is to be the consequence? apparently this. Unless South Carolina should be Federal, (and an effort is making to elect a federal State Legislature,) Jefferson will have a majority and be chosen. Unless the Federalists unite and run the *two* Federal Candidates, Jeff: will have more than either of them, though perhaps not a majority. On the whole it is highly probable that Jeff: will be elected. Every thing smoaks with political fermentation in the U. S. You must watch and pray for the country, that we may not have a war with G. B. which would augment the danger of revolution exceedingly, both to G. B. & the U. S. The former may be again in a state to dread this danger more than it does at present. The U. S. have yet to learn almost all that experience can teach. Our Govt. is republican, our opinions democratic. The latter must rise or the former will sink.

Yrs. truly,

INCOG.

2d Sheet.

August 26, 1800.

The friends of a certain great man are trying to rouse the revolutionary spirit, to awaken personal local party and national prejudices to secure for him the concentration of all the chances of the political game. It is obvious that wd. make the chance of the Federal Cause the worse and *his* not the better unless by some miracle people who do not prefer him wd. act just as if they did. Inclinations are not to be thus put in requisition, and so many from their souls dislike and dread the caprices, prejudices and resentments which seem to have acquired a despotic power over him, that it is impossible to extort a vote from them in favor of such a man unless by faithfully complying with the *agreement* fairly and equally to vote for the other. No doubt you will have

read Harper's letter to his Constituents. In that is stated the vote to be given by the Federalists. But every intrigue and probably rage enough to spoil it will be practised to gain over our Legislature which is to meet on the first of November to choose Electors who will vote for Mr. A. and throw away their votes for some other person than General P. This will be known beforehand and will inevitably divert some southern votes from Mr. A. which wd. otherwise be given to him. Thus Mr. Jeff's election seems to be almost certain unless the Electors will stand to the agreement made at Philadelphia to vote for *both*. If Gov. McKean and Dallas shd. effect their design of sacking a Legislature, all Pennsylvania will be thrown into that scale. Mr. Jeff. will have nearly 70 on the best calculation that we can make, and any dependence on So. Carolina is very precarious. If the coast should be as bad as we apprehend, all hopes of seeing the country safe in the enjoyment of property or constitution must ultimately rest in the spirit and union of men of principle. The measures pursued by the friends of Mr. A. tend to dissipate this last hope. On the contrary the compromise to vote for Gen. P. and Mr. A. affords a good ground for harmony now, acquiescence hereafter in the success of either Mr. P. or Mr. A., and energy and zeal if Mr. J. shd. be elected. Therefore on the whole I cannot but think that a truth so obvious so deeply important will extort respect and obedience from our Legislature and that they will choose Electors who will vote for both. Even Mr. A.'s friends wd. see, if rage would let them see anything, that by pursuing the object of throwing away P.'s votes they will infallibly exclude Mr. A. It is intended that the race shall be a fair one, all the Federal Electors voting for *both*, thus leaving it to chance and to Congress to decide which shall be President. But if one of the two will persist in playing foul, the consequence must be that his chance will be made as bad as it ought for that reason to be. Whether Mr. A. is willing to be Vice under Jeff is a problem and opinions in respect to its solution are various. He acts as if he did not hate nor dread Jeff—and it is clear that his friends pursue a course in conversation and in the papers which can help nobody's cause but Jefferson's. Indeed the Adams writers offer to fraternise with Jacobins whom they denominate old friends, and openly rail agt. the "exclusive Federalists," "Hamiltonians,"

"Essex Junto," "Royalists," "British Partizans," as they affect to call the men who stick to the good old principles and old cause. These facts, some queer toasts and a number of whisper'd anecdotes corroborate but fall short of fully proving the opinion that a *coalition* has been made and that if Mr. A. shd. be only Vice it wd. be revenge if not victory.

The tendency of our Politics to intestine troubles is obvious. These wd. spring from the same causes that lead to a British War. Good Lord defend us from both. Buonaparte's successes are believed here to producc coldness towds. promising our Envoys compensation. Very good. Will Austria make peace? If the Minister shd. be inquisitive to know my opinion, which may possibly be the case, you may tell him not to be afraid, but to fight on alone till France is exhausted, weary and humbled. That the cause of the war was the exorbitant power of France, that her increase of territory, the subjugation of Spain, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland and the exclusion of all spirit from her people but the military and the enthusiastic exaltation of *that*, are so many aggravations of the original evil, and that of course it is foolish to consider the remedy as springing out of the monstrous growth of the evil; that a state of danger shd. become a state of security merely by the augmentation of the danger. Therefore he must war till peace is safe and tell his Englishmen to pay and fight on till that time comes without ever stopping to think or enquire when that will be.

Yours truly,

INCOG.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.

LONDON, Sept. 2, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I have not received a line from the Department of State since you left it, which I the more regret, as every moment is not alike favorable to the satisfactory settlement of the points to be adjusted with this Country. Without your late letters (that of the 26 of June is the last) I could not have had an adequate notion of the extraordinary situation of our Government and even with this aid, I am at a loss to explain some occurrences of a late date. Is

it intended to agitate and inflame the Prejudices and passions of New England for the purpose of awing the Legislature in the choice of Electors, and these in their choice of President? It will not be difficult to awaken resentments, that the impolicy takes no pains to extinguish; but must not the success of the project in a great measure depend upon the issue of the mission to France? and is there ever a Probability that this will prove satisfactory? Difficulties have been opposed to the Envoys, which, if persisted in, are insurmountable. It is true they remain at Paris still, and we ought to conclude from hence, that they do not wholly despair of success. But should N. E. be brought to refuse her votes to any but native Patriots, what will this accomplish? According to present appearances it will inevitably secure the election to the Virginia Candidate! . . .

R. KING.

P. S. Mr. Liston's explanations are such as I expected: and I have no doubt are perfectly correct. Still he is not free from the charge of extreme indiscretion. Such letters should by men, situated as he is, never be written; and no letters except those of business should be written to such men as his Baltimore correspondent. Don't consider my solicitude and unfeigned esteem for your retired situation as affectation or words of course. You cannot be ignorant of the respectful attachment of your numerous friends; and after what has happened, it seems to me that it would be false delicacy in them to suppress or in you to misconstrue the assurances of their unalienable regards.

R. K.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 82.

LONDON, Sept. 2, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I can give you no authentic information respecting the probable issue of the negotiation that we are told is going on between Austria & France. Since the commencement of the armistice between these Powers, the convention between England and Austria is understood to have been ratified by the latter, and some persons believe that preliminary steps have been taken to open a

negotiation between France & England. In the meantime neither France nor Austria appear to discontinue in the slightest degree their efforts to recruit their respective armies, and all that can with confidence be inferred from circumstances of a public nature is the utter uncertainty respecting the conclusion of the war. Public opinion rather leans in favor of the probability of a pacific settlement of the misunderstanding with Denmark; tho' there is an impatience to know the idea of Lord Whitworth's mission to Copenhagen.

Our Envoys are yet at Paris! My last letter from your office is dated the 3d of May.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 14 Sept., 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Mr. Gore has before this informed you how Mr. Adams stands in the estimation of his old friends. Some of them entertain a sovereign contempt for him. The newspaper accompanying this contains the letter which he wrote to Tench Coxe in the year 1792, concerning which there has been so much said. It is a curious *brimberion*, to use a word coined by Mr. Adams himself. It is worthy of remark that although the British Cabinet, according to Mr. Adams, exerted its influence to procure Mr. Pinckney's appointment, yet he never was agreeable to the British Court. Quite the reverse, as I have understood from Mr. Jay, for they considered him during his whole residence at London, as too much attached to the French Revolution. The letter is doubtless a genuine one.*

Jefferson is pretty fiercely attacked in different parts of the Continent on the ground of his religious principles. The pamphlet accompaning this is an attack said to have been made by Dr. Linn, one of the Ministers of the Dutch church in this city. It

* This was a private letter—published at that time in the *Aurora*—"avowing the suspicion that the appointment of Pinckney to the Courts of London had been procured or promoted by British influence." This letter does not appear in the *Life and Works of J. Adams* by Charles Francis Adams.

is not probable, however, that all that has been, or will be, written on this subject will deprive Jefferson of a single vote, so irrevocably bent is his party on forcing him into the President's chair. Things begin to look more favorably towards his election than they did some time ago. . . .

Burr has just returned from the Eastward where he has been for the purpose of effecting a division in the New England vote. It is confidently given out by the democrats that Burr is to be run with Jefferson. I recollect no period in Burr's life in which he has been more complacent than since our last election in this city. All the electors of this state will consist of Burr's creatures. He now considers himself as the most efficient man of that party. . . .

Adieu.

CHAPTER XXII.

King to Secy. of State—Expedition to Belle Isle failed—Envoys in Paris—To Smith—Impressment of America Seamen in Lisbon by the English—Complaint properly against Portugal—To Prest. Adams—Unsettled State of Relations between France and Austria may hasten the Work of the Envoys at Paris—Food Riots in London—Ames to King—Will not decide there is a Coalition—But too much Complacency of Adams towards his Antagonist as shown here—A Creature of Impulse—Irritated against sound Men—Thinks it would be a light Matter to have a War with Jefferson and the Jacobins would prefer Adams to Pinckney—Sedgwick to King—Passion displayed in Dismissal of Pickering displayed now without Disguise—Motives that led to the Election of Adams were with many to prevent that of Jefferson—Adams's Resentment aggravated by subsequent Events—He does not conceal his Opinions—A Consequence the Disorganization of the federal Party—Marshall says Union alone can save the Country—On Massachusetts will depend the Result of the Presidential Election—Cabot to King—How to secure neutral Rights—King and Gore quoted as thinking Peace not improbable and as Proof of the Wisdom of Adams's Course.

R. King to Secretary of State.

No. 83.

London, Sept. 6, 1800.

Dear Sir:

The same uncertainty respecting Peace continues that existed at the date of my last letter. The expedition under Sir James Pulteney having found the situation of Belle Isle too formidable to attack with a prospect of success, proceeded against Ferrol, where the troops were landed, but quickly reimbarked, the Defences being more formidable than they had been represented. Whether the troops will be employed in some other attempt against the enemy, or sent to Portugal menaced with invasion, or return home is more than I am able to decide.

We have no accounts of the Envoys since the 1st inst., when they were in Paris. The annexed copy of the convention between England & Denmark will show the manner the late misunderstanding has been settled.

With perfect Respect, &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO WILLIAM SMITH, ESQ.

LONDON, Sept. 23, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I have duly received your letters of the 16th & 18th inst., and will make application for the discharge of the American seamen named in Mr. Bulkeley's letter, tho' I am not entirely free from doubts concerning the propriety of a complaint to this Government grounded upon the circumstance of their having been impressed within the Territory of Portugal. I think with you that the complaint is against the Government of Portugal for permitting the abuse of the Rights of Hospitality, the enjoyment of which the People of friendly nations may respectively claim within each others Territories. It is certainly true that England has no sort of Right to compel the People of any other nation to engage in her service, and equally so that Portugal can give her no such authority except over her own people. If Portugal suffers England to seize our People resorting to her dominions on the faith of a friendly reception and Protection, it is against Portugal that we should complain; and if she allows England to search for and seize its own people found within her Territories, in doing which the personal security of our seamen is violated, it is still against Portugal that we should complain, since she does not limit the permission to England so as to protect us from injury.

I am tired and disgusted with the repetition of complaint upon this head; our system of Protection is in my eyes a pernicious one; but as it has the sanction of Government, we are bound to support it. As a further aggravation of the injustice we suffer from the impressment of our seamen upon the open seas and within the British Dominions, I will explain in the next I make, what is understood to have lately happened in Lisbon.

With sincere Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN ADAMS.

LONDON, Sept. 24, 1800.

SIR :

Overtures and even direct propositions on the subject of Peace have been made between England and France, as well as between the latter & Austria. Indeed it seems that certain preliminaries, not yet entirely disclosed, were signed on the 29th of July at Paris by Count St. Julian on the part of the Emperor, and the disavowal of which at Vienna has produced the stipulated notice from France that has put an end to the armistice.

We are now told that the negotiations will again fail to terminate the war, that the Emperor has placed himself at the head of his army on the Danube, and that we may daily expect accounts of new battles. Whatever may be the consequences of this deplorable condition of Europe to its principal states, I am mistaken if it does not revive a strong motive on the part of France to bring to a conclusion the negotiation with our Envoys, whose continuance at Paris strengthens the hope of a satisfactory termination of their mission. Popular tumults occasioned by the dearness of Provisions, have lately manifested themselves as well in London, as in the chief cities in the interior of the country ; but the presence of the military has overawed the populace, and as the harvest has been plentiful, it is hoped that Provisions, especially bread, will soon be attainable at a more moderate price. That food will be cheap, while rents and taxes are so high, is a prophecy in which I cannot believe.

With perfect Respect & attachment &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

F. AMES TO R. KING.

Sept. 24, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR :

You will be anxious to hear from the U. S. at this eventful crisis. You will have other letters than mine, and I do not know whether the light I may shed will lessen your anxiety or curiosity. I am so much plagued with my prudence when I write that I always make out to be stupid, though I generally miss of being cautious. It is indeed running a risk to send free thoughts in a

letter so far and across the sea where so many pirates may happen to furnish so much entertainment to as many pimps if they shd. intercept this. It is ten to one you will not thank me for addressing such letters as I must, if I express the thoughts of my heart to you, as the receiver may be inculpated as well as the author. Perhaps you may not think as I do, but I will try to be communicative and hope that this will reach you safely.

It is not easy to describe our political state nor perhaps to do it with any clearness, unless by some delineation of character and a bold exposure of weaknesses. The classification of parties is not to be made out in any other way—especially as they appear in this scene.

Whether there is any ground, (and if any whether there is much) for the coalition charged upon the two heads of parties I will not decide. I think there is rather too much complacency on the part of our man towards his antagonist, and too little towds. the intended second of the former. This proceeds from several causes—but chiefly from the lofty idea he entertains of his own superior wisdom and greatness which disdains to have either for a second or a successor any less personage than the *first* of the other side. He has also a strong revolutionary taint in his mind, admires the characters, principles and means which that revolutionary system exacts and for a short period seems to legitimate, and as you know holds cheap any reputation that was not *then* founded and top'd off. Accordingly he respects his rival and the Gazette here, absolutely devoted to him and in the hands of his personal friends exclusively, is silent and has been for some months in respect to that rival. His irreligion, wild philosophy and gimcrackery in politics are never mentioned. On the contrary the great man has been known to speak of him with much regard, and an affected indignation at the charge of irreligion, asking what has that to do with the public and adding that he is a good patriot, citizen and father. The good Lady his wife has been often talkative in a similar strain, and she is as complete a politician as any Lady in the old French Court.

Besides these motives, vindictive feelings will concur to disappoint those who would disappoint him, and to be excluded by his own party would be justly more mortifying than to be ousted by a majority on the side of his rival. How much character is

expected to be patched up by a little courtship of the other party you may infer from his saying that the measure which has so much afflicted us all is the most glorious act of his life and he will order it engraven on his tomb stone. His partizans boast of its popularity and that only a very few like Hamilton and the Essex Junto condemn it. It is also true that the Jacobins allow that the act was good, though they intimate that it's motive was to gain them, and not a sincere right principle.

The man I allude to is too much the creature of *impulse* or freakish humour—he is a revolutionist from temperament, habit and lately what he thinks policy—he is too much irritated against many if not most of the principal sound men of the country ever to bestow on them *his* confidence or to retrieve *theirs*. In particular he is implacable against a certain great little man whom we mutually respect. With so much less than the old & requisite harmony with the best friends of the country, he has certain antipathies and prejudices connected with them that are equally strange, stubborn & pernicious. He really thinks it a light matter to have a war with G. B. as he hates that Governt. in every thing but it's theory, believes it corrupt and affects to believe it possesses *influence* here; he can scarcely refrain and he seldom tries to refrain from inveighing against British influence, and to conciliate to himself the mob honors that cant will obtain. He does not hesitate to say that public debt wd. go down and paper money come up in that case. But he loves to bluster and vapor about the courage he once displayed when *he* was not afraid of that great power when we had not half our present force. He has the os magne soniturum and with all the ignorance of men & business that must belong to the possessor of the before mentioned tenets, he indulges the vanity, so much his favorite & his master.

The effect of having him at our head is for you and everyone to consider. The Jacobins plainly say they prefer him to his intended second. It is plain they choose we should be without a head or with one that will not fit the shoulders.

Accordingly I have long thought it probable that the Leader of the Jacobins willing to hide behind his rival's back will not be sorry to see him prefer'd, believing that he will be only nominal chief, that the ruin of the Feds by discord & inefficiency will be safely and securely procured, while he, the second, would be

safe not responsible, yet actually the ruler, and that by flattery the other might be inclined and by blowing up his resentments against his federal supporters, *driven* to may acts of Jacobinism. Policy so refined will not prevent this man from ousting the present occupant if he can. But if he can discern beforehand that his own chance is desperate, I am almost sure the Jacobins will vote for the present rather than to let Gen. P. be chosen. The votes, as we now count them, will be nearly equally divided. South Carolina is yet uncertain as the legislature is not elected and many adverse contingencies may lessen our number. On the whole, it is probable that J. will be elected ; if he cannot be, that A. will be voted for by many Jacobins and therefore his chance is the next best. People differ much on this subject and few believe as I do that the Jacobins will act as I have settled in case of their despairing of their first object.

J's election will greatly endanger our peace abroad, and order at home. The prejudices of another will perhaps with an equally bad tendency towards war dispose him to neglect every proper & reasonable step to secure peace and to take affront & sound the tocsin on the first cause of irritation given by B. Take care of our peace. I should think the present desponding crisis in B. affairs a good moment for adjusting matters of difference with them.

My former letters have probably stated my conjectures respecting the votes in New England. Some foolish writers in the Gazettes have tried their talents to divide the Feds and with some success at first. The better knowledge of the subject which has been spread more by conversation than in print has mended public opinion a good deal and I now have hopes, though I am less sanguine than most others, that our Legislature will act right.

Newspaper essays have not been much resorted to and it is thought would irritate. We have been and still are placed in a difficult pass. You will not get half as much information as you desire, because probably not one of your correspondents will be "so loose of thought" as I have been. I take no thought beforehand what I shall write and will thank you to burn this immediately after perusal.

Sept. 26.

I have just seen a gentleman of South Carolina who says that his intelligence from there is very recent & very encouraging, that

a federal legislature is confidently expected to be chosen in October and that the votes will be fairly, liberally and faithfully given to the two federal candidates.

T. Sedgwick to R. King.

Stockbridge. 26. Sept., 1800.

Dear Sir:

. . . The dismissal of Mr. Pickering alone would have been regretted by every man acquainted with his character, who justly appreciated his merits and virtues; but had he been only an object of distrust and resentment, the injury would have been less fatal to the cause which we have endeavored to support. The same extends to almost every man, in our country, who has been active & zealous in the support of the executive administration. The sentiment or passion, which has, in this instance, displayed itself, was long smothered, but has lately burst forth, and is now permitted to rage without controul or disguise. It had its origin with the events of the last election.

When General Washington notified his intention to retire from public life, the wish that Mr. Adams should be his successor was unanimous among all the friends of the government. This wish was, however, entertained by gentlemen with different modifications. While some were disposed to consider the election of Mr. Adams as the first object, others more strongly impressed with the mischief which would result from the success of Jefferson, or thought that success more probable, directed their efforts to insure his exclusion. The latter, of whom I was one, endeavored to induce the electors to give their votes, homogeneously, for Mr. Adams & Mr. Pinkney. This conduct was deeply resented at the time & has never since been forgotten. Mr. Adams was then imprudent enough, I say what I know, to declare to several gentlemen, at several times, in substance, that he was to be sacrificed to the personal enmity entertained against Mr. Jefferson, whose pretensions were preferable to Mr. Pinckney's—In some instances he went further and pretty plainly hinted, that

some wished Mr. Pinckney to succeed against him, because he could be more easily influenced. The principal object of his resentment and jealousy was Mr. Hamilton, who, possessing great influence, had, in his usual open and undisguised manner, exerted it all on this occasion. Here those feelings, which since indulged have been so mischievous, had their commencement. The jealousy which took place at that time has, from a vast variety of circumstances, which have since assumed acquired strength—such as the hesitation of some to assent to the nomination of his son as Minister to Berlin—the anxiety which was expressed, *to him*, that General Washington should be placed at the head of the army—*his* wish & that of his friend that Hamilton should be second in command—the opposition which was made to the appointment of Gerry, and the chagrin occasioned by Gerry's conduct—the negative of the nomination of W. Smith as adjutant general—the nomination of Murray & what then took place—the disgust which was created by the last mission to france—the President's conduct towards his ministers on that occasion, and their manly avowal of their opinions, and above all the recommendations of the whole federal party of General Pinckney as a joint and *equal* candidate with him for the office of President, have excited the most furious indignation in his mind & which he is at no pains to conceal. He every where denounces the men, and almost all the men in whom he confided, at the beginning of his administration, as an oligarchish faction, who are combined to drive him from office, because they cannot govern him, and to appoint Pinckney, by whose agency, under the controul of this faction & particularly of Hamilton its head, the country is to be driven into a war with france & a more intimate, if not an indissoluble, union with great Britain. In consequence of these representations by him, which are diffused thro' this state by his friends, and more by the indefatigable industry of his enemies the jacobins, the federal party *here* has been disorganized, and every where thro' the nation its energies are paralized. By the most painful industry, and the most perfect union the friends of the Government had attained a height on which they appeared to be impregnably intrenched; but by the conduct of an individual, the whole force is disheartened, on one hand, and on the other the adversary is inspired with fresh confidence.

The appointment of Marshall as Secy. of State was a fortunate event—I believe there is not a man in the U. S. of better intentions, and he has the confidence of all good men—no man regrets more than he does the disunion which has taken place, and no one would do more to heal the wounds inflicted by it. In a letter which I received from him a few days since he says, "by union we can securely maintain our ground—without it we must sink & with us all sound, correct American principle." His efforts will, I fear, prove ineffectual.

With regard to the ensuing election, the result at present can not be known, but my hopes greatly preponderate. The event will I think depend on N. England, & particularly Massachusetts. The laudable conduct of the Legislature in retaining to themselves the choice of electors was intended to prevent the scattering of votes. Every art which wickedness & falsehood could invent has been practised, to defeat this intention, by seducing the members ; I hope & believe without success. At the time we agreed on Mr. Pinckney as a candidate, which was at a meeting of the whole federal party in Congress, we had every assurance which could be given by the members from S. Carolina, that whatever might be the character of their electors, such was the popularity of General Pinckney, that all the votes of that state would be given to him—if federal of course for Adams & Pinckney, if antifederal for Pinckney & Jefferson. I had a letter a few days since from Harper, who is settled in Baltimore. He says, that we may, with certainty, calculate on ten votes there. It is almost reduced to a certainty that no votes will be given in Pennsylva.—The candidates are the gentlemen above mentioned & Burr, but of him I am confident there is no danger. I have inclosed a conjectural list of votes.

The accomodations in Washington, I fear, will not in any respect, be very eligible, but, doubtless, many inconveniences must be submitted to before a removal is contemplated. Among the inconveniences which I foresee the most mischievous will be the secession of men of talents and experience. In any situation the inducements to serve are so few & the sacrifices so great and obvious ; on one hand neither power to stimulate ambition nor patronage to sooth benevolence, and on the other, slander and falsehood to deter, that much of imbecility might be expected.

Our old friend Strong will, I hope, make us a pretty good governor—We are not, indeed, to suppose that opposition will be deterred by imposing frowns—nor are we to expect that much of dignity will be added to Govt. by a commanding ascendency of character, but every thing that a pleasing suavity of manners, pure morals, integrity and a spirit of conciliation can effect may be relied on. Firmness, in cases where expedients can not be resorted to, will not be wanting, but that is a resource which never will be resorted to but in cases of necessity; nor will he ever assume unnecessary responsibility.

You will probably receive this Letter at a time when you are uncertain of the elections in Essex. Our friends, there, think there is no danger in either. For myself I fear that Lincoln will prevail. We could not send from this state a worse man. He is dangerous from his weight of character, and more from his being an enthusiast. He is in fact, in principle, a democrat. It was a misfortune that Foster was chosen into the senate, in the first place for reasons you know, and in the second because there was no other man whose popularity could ballance against that of Lincoln. But the Legislature had no other choice. The office of senator went a begging and was rejected by many—I believe no changes will any where else be made unfavorable to the government.

I should have resigned my seat in Congress at the same time I declined a future election could I have foreseen, with certainty, the result of the ensuing election of President. But should there be no choice or should the choice fall on Jefferson I should wish to be present.

I am sincercly yours

T. S.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

Sep. 30, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have a thousand times thought of the regulations you contemplate to mitigate to neutral Commerce the oppressions it suffers from Belligerent nations under the sanction of law & to satisfy

those nations in a fair & ample manner that their Enemies' property is not covered. I have no idea however that such a system will be ever established or maintained by armed neutralities or combinations of that kind. I shou'd think it might nevertheless be brought about by particular stipulations between nation & nation which if fairly performed & not abused wou'd in time become a law. So far am I from "deciding hastily" (*in this case* I mean) that I have often reflected upon the means which a nation possesses of assuring to another what that other, being in a state of war, has a right to know, & I think a nation cou'd by its own laws & regulations give to another better evidence of that which it has a right to know than that nation can ordinarily derive from the proceeding now used. It is not impracticable to secure to neutrals the full & unmolested exercise of every right, on which they can *reasonably* insist, by fair conventions with the *great fighting* nation, if the same parties have a sincere disposition to do it; but neutrals will not always be satisfied with this alone, & one at least of the warring powers will be still less satisfied. France, for example, while inferior to England in maritime force, can never be reconciled to any arrangement respecting neutrals which cannot be made to *shield her own Commerce* in time of war, & every arrangement convertible to this purpose will certainly be opposed by England or by any predominant maritime power.

By your letter of the 28th July it appears you think a peace not improbable. I had previously heard that this opinion was quoted by the President & enlarged upon as a proof of his wisdom & the errors of those who have been alarmed at his measures. Perhaps you little suspected that such a use wou'd be made of your name, but I am assured it has some effect in increasing the animosity or rather the avowal of enmity to G. B. among men whom fear or prudence has kept silent.

Our friend Gore too is quoted as having found by experience that the English do not merit so much respect as the damned british faction (which they are sometimes called) are disposed to pay them; thus you see that men who think the most correctly & whose conduct corresponds to their opinions, are made to testify against their friends & even against themselves.

I remain constantly & faithfully,

Yours

Long as are several of these letters from the valued correspondents of Mr. King in America they are here given in full, for they present, as do some subsequent ones, a picture of the political views of his friends during the canvass preceding the election of the President and of the personal feelings of the leaders of the federal party under their changed relations with Mr. Adams. In the confidence that Mr. King sympathized with them and felt a deep interest in the welfare of the federal party, which they, as well as he, knew had laid firmly the foundations of the Government and caused the country to prosper and gain the respect of other nations, they wrote to him their firm belief that a continuation of the Government in the hands of Mr. Adams, who had become alienated from those with whom he had until a short time past always acted, would endanger the welfare of the country, by his evident affiliation or sympathy with their opponents, and that their own influence in the conduct of public affairs was gone unless by union and prudent concert they might be able to counteract the energy, recklessness, and activity of those with whom Mr. Adams seemed inclined to unite himself, and who held opinions so fundamentally opposed to their own. The choice among the candidates for the Presidency was of one whom they did not trust, or of Mr. Jefferson whom they detested and whose principles they held to be tainted with the worst features of French democracy, which they had found from the inauguration of the Government threatening to overthrow the wise measures which had hitherto caused it to prosper. It is therefore not to be wondered at that these patriotic leaders were earnest in their desire to counteract the efforts of their opponents and to place in the Presidency a man who held the views which they advocated, and believed to be best for the general good, and calculated to establish the country in its proper position among the nations of the earth. As they felt, so they expressed themselves and there is no doubt that they addressed their thoughts to a sympathizing correspondent and trusted adviser.

CHAPTER XXIII.

King to Secretary of State—Strange Conduct of Emperor of Austria—Reasons for it—English Envoys to be received at the Congress at Luneville—Russia dissatisfied with England—Depredations on American Commerce in West Indies due to pillaging Spirit of English Officers—Mr. Merry to succeed Mr. Liston—Troup to King—Hamilton thinks of publishing Grounds of his Opposition to Adams—Laments the scattering of Federalists—Insurrection in Virginia—King to Murray—Mode of Expenditure of Money for Claims in the prize Courts—Under King's Control—Character of them—W. Constable to King—Convention with France signed—First Consul's Toast at Feast in Celebration: Perpetual Amity between France and the United States—King to Smith—The President approves of Purchase of Jewels for Bey of Tunis under the Circumstances—To Discourage Expectation of future Purchases—To Secretary of State—Austria probably to conclude a separate Treaty with France—Crops in England good—Not sufficient for a Year's Supply—King to Lord Grenville—President's Congratulations on the King's Escape from Assassination—To Secretary of State on same Subject—Lord Grenville's Answer to J. White—Acknowledges the Receipt of a Piece of Plate from Lloyd's for Captain Truxton, to be sent to him—Lord Grenville to King—Mr. Soren's Pamphlet—He Complains of Inattention to his Business—Denied by Lord Grenville—King to Secretary of State—Convention with France—Lord Grenville finds no Fault except as to Convoys and the Rights of Neutrals—King thought Regulations for Trade of Neutrals might be made by Convoys without affecting injuriously the Right of Search—Lord Grenville admitted the Fairness of the Project—Mr. Merry the Successor of Liston favorably spoken of.

R. King to Secretary of State.

No. 84.

London, Sep. 30, 1800.

Dear Sir:

It is not easy at this moment to explain the conduct of the Emperor in disgracing Count St. Julian and refusing to ratify the preliminaries signed by him at Paris, and afterwards going to his

Army, where his first act has been the Delivery of the Fortresses at Philipsburg, Ulm & Ingolstadt to the French as the price of a prolongation of the armistice and the pledge of his sincerity in the negotiation for Peace immediately to be opened on the Basis of Count St. Julian's preliminaries at Luneville near Nanci in France. Some persons perceive the explanation of this apparent inconsistency, in the Russian armies assembling in Transylvania and which in a few weeks may be ready to cooperate with the Austrian forces: others, in the fidelity of Austria, which would do nothing without England; and others in the discovery of the comparative superiority of the French army, and the consequent conviction of the Emperor that Peace was the only means of safety. France consents to receive the Envoys of England at the Congress of Luneville, provided England immediately agrees to a naval armistice. Negotiations upon this point are going on, and the armistice will be settled if England believes that Austria is in earnest to put an end to the war.

The sequestration of British property in Russia, in consequence of the passage of the Sound by the English squadron sent to support Lord Whitworth's negotiation at Copenhagen, was revoked as soon as the misunderstanding with Denmark was understood to be settled; but the measure was one that has not only excited a lively sensation in this country, but may be regarded as complete proof of the unabated dissatisfaction of Russia towards England. The squadron which was prepared to bombard Copenhagen, had a decisive influence on the negotiation, and hastened its conclusion; but the knowledge of the fact that Lord Whitworth, on delivering his ultimatum, limited the Danish Government to a categorical answer to be given in eight days is not likely to moderate the jealousy of the English naval superiority that has become so generally prevalent. The convention was signed on the evening of the eighth day.

Having seen in the late American Newspapers frequent articles concerning the depredations of the English Cruizers upon our coasts and in the West Indies, I have taken some pains to ascertain whether any new orders affecting our Trade had been issued, or whether these increased irregularities proceed from the unchecked and base spirit of Plunder, that influences so many of the English naval Commanders. The result of my inquiries satisfies

me that they are to be ascribed to the latter cause, which will gain strength and continue to operate until the Prize-Courts compel the Captors to give complete indemnity to Neutrals for their losses and the Government shall be willing to discourage the pillaging spirit of its officers by a few instances of severe and exemplary Punishment.

I have reason to believe that it is the intention of this Government to send Mr. Merry to the U. States, as the successor of Mr. Liston, who has leave of absence & will not return to America after he leaves it. Mr. Merry was several years in Spain, and I think as Consul General is said to have acted with ability in the affairs of Nootka, and has lately returned from Denmark, where he has served in a diplomatic character. I do not know him, but will take measures to obtain and send you more particular information respecting his character and dispositions

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c

RUFUS KING.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 1 Oct., 1800.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . I have nothing new for you, except that the late election in Connecticut has produced a decidedly federal legislature ; more so than they have had in that State for some time. And yet it is acknowledged on all hands that democracy is on the growth in that State ! This information is given to me by General Hamilton who is just from Hartford where he has been to attend our State trial. . . .

Hamilton has thoughts of publishing the grounds of his opposition to Mr. Adams ; and from circumstances I expect daily to see him in the newspapers on this subject.

My good friend, I cannot describe to you how broken and scattered your federal friends are ! At present we have no rallying point ; and no mortal can divine where or when we shall again collect our strength ! . . . Shadows, clouds, and darkness rest on our future prospects. My spirits, in spite of all my philosophy, cannot maintain the accustomed level. For the

present they have sunk me into an apathy for public concern, and forced me into the bosom of my own family—where after all is centered the only happiness we can expect to enjoy on earth.

In Virginia * they are beginning to feel the happy effects of liberty and equality. A serious and tremendous insurrection was on the point of breaking out there a few days ago. It was discovered as it was about being executed. The reports from that quarter say that it was planned by Frenchmen, and that all the whites, save the French, were to have been sacrificed. The whole state has been in consternation—their courts are sitting—trials are taking place and the gallows are in full operation. . . . We are also told that there actually has been a rising of negroes in South Carolina. . . .

Genl. Armstrong is said to be Jefferson's religious champion. . . . Hamilton thinks worse of the state of our affairs than I do. I cannot bring myself to believe that the same consequences will result which he apprehends. . . .

R. T.

R. KING TO WILLIAM VANS MURRAY.

MILL HILL, Oct. 4, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

I yesterday received by Capt. Hill your letter of the 27th of July and can answer in very few words your enquiry respecting the expenditures of public money in this country for the prosecution of claims in the Prize Courts. Since my residence here this expenditure has been made under my control and direction. Conceiving that the appointment of Mr. Bayard, the agent charged with the care of the American Claims, arose from the almost indiscriminate capture of our vessels in 1793 & 1794, and that it was not the intention of the Government to maintain a permanent agent, nor to take upon itself the charge and expense

* Jefferson says in a letter to Dr. Rush Sept. 23, 1800 :

" You will hear an account of an attempt at insurrection in this State. I am looking with anxiety to see what will be its effect in our State. We are truly to be pitied."—*Jefferson's Complete Works*, vol. iv., p. 336.

of conducting the claims for Property, captured subsequent to the Treaty with England, Mr. Bayard was instructed by me to afford his advice and personal assistance to all our countrymen, whose property might be captured by the English, and to require of them to engage their own Proctors and provide their own funds, and in no case to engage the U. States, or to advance their money to prosecute claims occurring subsequent to the English Treaty. This instruction was approved by the Secretary of State, and has been scrupulously observed by Mr. Williams, who succeeded Mr. Bayard.

The only disbursement of public money that has been, or that continues, to be made is to the Proctors of the Prize Courts, who had been engaged in cases older than the Treaty, and to the agent (first Mr. Bayard, now Mr. Williams) for his salary and contingent account, including his postage and the expense of the copies of the Vice-Admiralty proceedings ; and no money has ever been paid for the support of captains, witnesses or private agents. Indeed it would in my eyes be money thrown away to support the Supercargoes, Masters or other officers of the captured vessels, whose presence is of no use, and who can afford no assistance in the Trial. One intelligent agent, such as we have here, is enough, and the business which I found a chaos, has been methodized and arranged so as to enable the agent to give every information respecting it to the Proctors as well as the Proprietors. The agent requires a regular account of the Proctors, to whom he pays no charge not sanctioned by a Bill taxed by the Register, and in every case, deducts from the property recovered or restored, the public advances in the prosecution of the Suit ; when the same claimant has more than one suit, the agent detains the whole of the public advances in all of them, including as well those decided against the claimant as those still undecided, and in this way we hope to get back the chief part of the public money. I will write to you again shortly.

Pray deliver the Books purchased for me to Mitchell or Codman, who will forward them ; let those which are not bound be bound before they are sent.

With truth and attachment, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

W. CONSTABLE TO R. KING.

PARIS, 6th October, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

The *Convention* between this Country and the U. S. was concluded the last of September, as you will most probably be apprised by our Envoys. The question of compensation is for the present waived, the Role d'Equipage given up, and the only Papers in future required are a Sea-Letter & Register, which rule is to be applied to all property captured and not finally condemned. . . .

Ellsworth & Davie will arrive at Havre to day, having set off from Joseph Bonaparte's Country Seat 2 days since, where there was a most superb fête given on the occasion of the pacification with America when the first Toast by the first Consul was, Perpetual Amity between France & the U. S. He mentioned the telegraphic despatch, received in the eveng. of the fête, of Thugut's removal and Cobenzel's coming to Paris. Stocks have risen exceedingly in consequence. Rentes Provissoires, which were at 6, when I arrived here, are now 36 pr. 100. Murray will set off in a few days for the Hague.

With sincere regard &c.

W. C. CONSTABLE.

R. KING TO CHARLES LEE, ESQ.

OFFICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, CITY OF WASHINGTON.

No. 85. *

LONDON, Oct. 7, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I have the satisfaction to inform you that the Paris papers just arrived, under the article and sanction of official information, state that a Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States of America and France was signed on the 1st instant.

I have the honor to be with great respect & esteem, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

* Note by R. K.

Mr. Pickering was removed from the Department of State in May—but no official intimation of this change was received till the arrival of a letter dated 23 May, from Mr. Lee, the Acting Secretary, and from this time, despatches were no longer addressed to Col. Pickering.

R. KING TO WILLIAM SMITH.

LONDON, Oct. 8, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

I yesterday received a letter from the Secretary of State, dated the 16th of Augt. respecting the Jewels for the Bey of Tunis ; tho' the President is not satisfied with the claim, he thinks it prudent under the circumstances of the case that the Articles enumerated in Mr. Eaton's list should be purchased ; but as in your letter of the 7th of June you express a hope, in consequence of the arrival of the Hero, richly laden with stores at Tunis, that the Jewels might not be insisted upon, I shall take measures that the Tagan shall be mounted as soon as possible according to the Bey's directions and wait till I receive your answer and opinion, whether under present circumstances it will be adviseable to proceed in the execution of the Commission for the Jewels. If you have any information that leads you to believe that the claim is not relinquished, I think it will be our duty in consequence of the President's instruction to provide them. I submit to your consideration whether it will not be prudent that you should immediately inform Eaton that I have received orders to purchase the Jewels and other articles enumerated in his List, at the same time suggesting that a twelvemonth is required by the manufacturers to prepare them, that the greatest difficulty and expense will attend the execution of the commission, none of the articles being made in America, and some of them no where made except by order, and that he should by all suitable means discourage the expectation that we should on any occasion make the like present in future.

With great Respect & Esteem &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 86.

LONDON, Oct. 18, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

Parliament is summoned to meet on the 11th of November. This sudden measure may have been called for by the unexpected

and extraordinary political situation of the country as well as by the alarming distress which still continues from the scarcity and high price of provisions.

We cannot suppose that the signature of the Convention between England and Denmark has wrought any change in the sentiments of the latter, concerning the question in dispute, and circumstances daily manifest themselves, which prove the precarious nature of the friendly connection that subsists between England and the three Northern Powers.

The appointment of Count Cobenzel to succeed Baron Thugut in the Cabinet of Vienna, if it be not merely an ostensible measure, goes far to confirm the opinion that Austria has resolved to conclude a separate Peace with France, and tho' neither government disclosed what has passed, it is understood that the correspondence between Paris and London is suspended if not entirely broken off.

This country has not for a long time grown sufficient corn to feed its inhabitants ; it has been usual to have corn enough for three months' consumption when the new crop is gathered ; but the harvest of 1799 having been very short, (not more than half a crop) and with the savings of former years nearly or quite consumed before the last harvest was gathered, the country has been obliged to begin immediately upon the new crop, which, tho' a good one, will not be sufficient for a year's food, much less for the supply of fifteen months ; and should the next be a late or short harvest, there will be still greater distress than the present, which without doubt is encreased by the apprehension of these events.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Oct. 21, 1800.

MY LORD :

The President of the United States having with the most lively concern heard of the late desperate attack upon the Person of the

King, has given me orders to present his unfeigned congratulations to his Majesty upon his happy escape from the blow by which his life was so seriously endangered. Participating as I do in the sentiments which upon this occasion I am charged to express, I receive peculiar satisfaction in obeying this instruction, which I pray your Lordship to be assured alike proceeds from the high Respect for his Majesty entertained by the American Government, and the friendly interest it at all times takes in whatever affects the welfare and happiness of the nation to which his Majesty's life is on every account so justly dear.

With the most distinguished consideration &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 87.

LONDON, Oct. 26, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

A day or two after the information that a Treaty had been signed between France & America, I received your letter of the 16th * of August, and finding upon enquiry that the King had been congratulated upon his escape from the attempt to assassinate him, by almost every other State in amity with Great Britain, I thought it adviseable, conformably to the President's directions, to present his congratulations likewise. The Copy of my letter to Lord Grenville and of his answer are annexed. The occasion seemed to me a suitable one not only to renew the assurance of our friendship, but also to endeavour to discover the temper with which our Reconciliation with France is likely to be treated; I make no unfavorable inference from the tenor of the answer.

With perfect Respect & Esteem

RUFUS KING.

* The first letter received from John Marshall, Esq., after his appointment to the office of Secretary of State—despatches afterwards addressed to him.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

DOWNING STREET, Oct. 25, 1800.

SIR :

I have the honour to inform you that having laid your letter of the 21st of this month before the King, I have received his Majesty's command to express to you the lively sense which his Majesty entertains of the friendly interest which that letter expresses on the part of the Government of the United States, on the occasion of the failure of the late attempt against his Majesty's life.

I have the honour to be with great consideration &c

GRENVILLE.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

(*Private.*)

DROPMORE, Oct. 25, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

I have received from a Mr. Soren, with whose case you are acquainted, a printed statement of his business, which I presume he will also have communicated to you. Having more than once interposed in his favour, in a matter which from the beginning had no relation to the official business of the foreign department, & of the final issue of which I was ignorant till I read his Pamphlet, I cannot but be hurt at the insinuations which it seems to me to contain, particularly in p. 25, of inattention on my part to his sufferings or claims.

I have directed a reference to be made to the dates of the correspondence on the subject, by which it appears that Mr. Soren's letter, dated Sept. 19, was by me referred to the King's advocate by a special letter of reference on the 25th of the same month— and that finding from his opinion that all means of legal redress were shut against Mr. Soren, I wrote myself to Mr. Dundas to recommend the case to his attention as one which might receive

some redress by orders from his department, tho' from the foreign office it could not. This letter was dated the 27th September 1798.

I trouble you with this detail because it was at your desire that I first interested myself in a business which (if I had not been desirous of contributing my endeavours to procure to Mr. Soren some redress for the injuries he has suffered) I might in the first instance have returned to you, as not coming within the line of my official duty.

The sort of feeling which sometimes urges a complainant to attack those who have most endeavoured to serve him is not uncommon, & I have had too much experience of the circumstances of a public situation to be much surprized by it. Certainly it will not lessen my wishes to be still of some use to a person who seems to me to have been hardly used.

Believe me ever, my dear Sir, most truly & sincerely yrs,

GRENVILLE.

R. KING TO THOMAS WHITE, MASTER OF LLOYD'S COFFEE HOUSE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Oct. 29, 1800.

SIR:

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 25th instant, together with the piece of plate, destined by the Merchants and Underwriters of Lloyd's Coffee House, as a Testimony of their sense of the gallant conduct of the Commander of the American Frigate Constellation in capturing the French frigate L'Insurgente, and thereby increasing the security of Commerce in the West India seas.

I beg of you, Sir, to do me the favour to inform the Merchants and Underwriters from whom this tribute of respect proceeds, that I will avail myself of the earliest opportunity to forward it to Captain Truxton together with a Copy of the Letter that you have written to me on this occasion.

The Portsmouth frigate having merely touched off Weymouth immediately after sailed on her voyage to America.

I have the honour to be &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 88.

LONDON, Oct. 31, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

The Convention with France having been published in Paris, immediately found its way into the English newspapers, in which it appeared the day after Mr. Ellsworth's arrival in London; its authenticity being confirmed by him, it became my duty to endeavour with as much diligence and as extensively as in my power *to communicate* * such sentiments and opinions *respecting it* as would be likely *to procure to it* a favorable consideration.

After conversing with the Lord Chancellor and some other of the Ministers, *I found* an occasion to mention the subject *to the King*, and tho' this was not altogether *regular I had* no reason to be dissatisfied with *having done so.*

After waiting several days during *which I* might see and converse with the persons *about the Court, I* yesterday asked a conference with *Lord Grenville*, which took place this morning. The conversation began *by my* observing that *I* wished to speak with *him* respecting *our Reconciliation with France*, in order that *I* might communicate *to my Government which* would be desirous to understand the light in which *it was* considered *by the British Government.* This beginning led to a free and apparently candid conversation respecting it, which was followed *by Lord G's* saying *to me that he* saw nothing *in the Convention* inconsistent *with the Treaty between them and us*, or which afforded *them any* ground of complaint; nor did *he perceive in it anything* that might not have been expected, unless *it was the Article* respecting *Convoys*, *which we were* certainly free to make, *but which* nevertheless, just at the present juncture *had* somewhat *of a less friendly appearance than* might have been wished. *I* expressed *my* satisfaction that *I* had not been mistaken in believing *that the British Government* would find *nothing to object to in the Convention*, and remarked that the article of free Bottoms having made a part of the old Treaty, it was natural enough that it should be inserted in the new one, and the provision respecting Convoys seemed to be no more than a convenient consequence of that article, by which the visit of the

* Italics in cipher.

belligerent is not only restrained in its object, but placed under special Regulations as to the manner in which it shall be made; and moreover *that Convoys* would be indispensable to protect *our Trade against French* Corsairs in the West Indies, which could not *at present be* controuled *by France.*

Lord G. who had not manifested any marks of his disappointment or discontent concerning the Convention, shewed no inclination to controvert what *I had just said* contenting *himself by* repeating, but without seeming to place much importance upon the observation, what *he* had before said with regard *to their* misunderstanding *with the Northern* Powers.

As the subject of Convoys was before us, I thought the occasion not an unfavorable one, concisely to suggest certain reflection which had passed *in my mind* concerning it, and which are the foundations of the observations contained *in my No. 80.* After some general Remarks respecting the Rights of Neutrals and Belligerents, *I* observed that it seemed *to me* practicable to devise Regulations by which the Trade of neutrals might be secured by Convoys without affecting injuriously the Right of Search. It might for example be stipulated that no Ship should be entitled to sail under Convoy, which should not possess a certificate, in an agreed form, attesting her neutrality and the neutrality and innocence of her Cargo; the Consuls or other Agents of the Belligerent residing in the neutral Countries might assist in taking the Proofs upon which such certificate should be granted; and it might moreover be settled that the visit of the Belligerent should be confined to the Convoying ship, the commander of which on exhibiting the Certificates of the Ships under his Convoy should with them be entitled to proceed unmolested. Other Regulations might be decided for the places where the agents of the Belligerent could not on account of the War assist in receiving the proofs of neutrality.

Lord G. without hesitation admitted the fairness of the Project, adding that it would be indifferent *to them* as belligerents, whether the examination was made by *their* agents before the sailing of the Neutral Ship, or upon the Ocean by *their naval officers.*

At the *close of the Conference Lord G.* spoke to *me* in favorable terms of Mr. Merry, the successor of Mr. Liston, saying that *he flattered himself that we should* find him an agreeable man. I

mentioned to him that I expected to receive farther instructions respecting the execution of the 6th article of our Treaty, and proposed that Mr. Merry should wait till they arrived; to which he consented, tho' it was intended that Mr. Merry should have embarked for America in a few days.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Mr. Strickland to King — Reprinting his Paper on Agriculture in United States—Objects to minute Division of Land—King to W. Smith—Has declined to advance Funds to pay for Articles ordered by Mr. Eaton for Bey of Tunis—They should be paid for in London or Paris, not through Traders—Troup to King—Strictures on Hamilton's Letter to the President —General Impression injurious to him and his Party—Cabot to King— Treaty with France cannot be a "Subject of Joy"—King to Secy. of State —Reports his Readiness to confer with Ld. Grenville on 6th Article— Relations of Austria and England with France about Peace—Latter wants separate Treaties—England seems ready now to support the first Consul —King will push Conference on 6th Article, but hopes for little while War lasts—Schoenbron to King—Announces to him the Appointment of Minister Resident and Consul General from Denmark to U. S.—King to Secy. of War—Maps—W. Wilberforce to King—Abolition of the slave Trade—King to Eaton—Gives Reasons for not ordering the Jewels made and sent to Tunis—The President does not see the Necessity but is impressed with the Impolicy of sending them—Presents from America possibly sufficient—Urges him to try to extricate the Country from Promises of others—To Secy. of State—Minister from Denmark, why not simply a Consul—Wilberforce to King — Friendly Greetings—How to prosecute Masters of Vessels breaking the Law to prevent slave Trade by American Vessels—Would reporting Names, etc., to the Abolition Society?—Troup to King—Adams and Pinckney will be chosen—Hamilton prefers Jefferson to Adams—Many Answers to his Pamphlet—King to Mr. Netzel relative to Conduct of two American Vessels against a Swedish Cutter.

William Strickland to R. King.

York, Nov. 1, 1800.

Dear Sir:

I received a letter yesterday from Mr. Nicol informing me of your intention of reprinting my Paper on the Agriculture of the United States, and requesting that I would make any alterations I thought necessary. I have accordingly carefully revised every part of it, but see no reasons for making any alterations in it

beyond literal or verbal mistakes in the printing nor any material additions. . . . If you choose to prefix to the republication any introduction I shall be satisfied with your doing it in any terms you may think proper; were your name annexed to it, it certainly would be flattering to me to be seen in your company, but as you may have reasons for wishing your name not to appear, which might not influence a private individual, I do not expect it, if you do not approve of it. . . .

I must request that you would be so good as to communicate to me hereafter any observations your countrymen may think proper to make on what I have said; without your assistance I may not be able to come at the knowledge of them; if they convict me of any misstatement of facts, I shall pay them all possible attention & take care to correct what I have asserted in a future volume of the publication of the Board of Agriculture; opinions are one's own, & those I may not be ready to retract; the former is possible, as the information of a traveller, notwithstanding all his care, may be inaccurate, but I do not think it probable; the latter, I am well aware will not accord with the sentiments of many of your countrymen; but that I cannot help; they may not be less substantially founded on that account; what will be most disputed will be what I have said on the division of landed property; but I fully believe that the greatest evils will arise to America from this minute division of property: it is a system that never has been authorized by the Laws of any country; & were it practised in this would in a short time reduce us to barbarism & want. It is impracticable in any country, that wishes to be well cultivated, to be commercial or manufacturing; and however beautiful in theory, it will be found in practice, that to have property well cultivated it ought to be of sufficient extent to command the attention of a man of capital. I have never seen an instance of the possessions of Freeholders being as well cultivated or as productive of commodities for the market, as the occupations of the tenantry of equal extent, & they are invariably worse cultivated in proportion as they are small: because *the capital employed in them is small*, & the powers of the capital decrease in greater proportion than the extent of the land diminishes; that is to say, double the capital will more effectually cultivate double the quantity of land than half the capital will

half the quantity. This equal division of land has been customary among the lower orders in some parts of France, & in proof of the evils attending it, I beg leave to refer to you various chapters, in the second part of the first Volume of Mr. Young's Travels in France, the best work he ever wrote & the best work of the kind ever published. . . .

I am ever your much obliged

WM. STRICKLAND.

R. KING TO WILLIAM SMITH.

LONDON, Nov. 7, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

Mr. Walmesby of the House of Mawhood, Walmesby & Co. of London, called on me yesterday with a letter from Mr. Eaton (a copy of which is annexed) to enquire whether I would advance the Funds to enable them to execute Mr. Eaton's orders. The articles are precisely the same as those contained in the list sent to me through your hands. My answer was in the negative, accompanied with a recommendation to Mr. Walmesby to suspend at least the execution of the order, which he undoubtedly will do. The Tagan is in the hands of the workmen and will be mounted in about two months; I will either send it to you or directly to Tunis as you shall prefer.

Eaton must not be allowed to enter into arrangements of this sort. If these articles are supplied, they should be obtained and paid for either here or at Paris; contracts formed with Traders frequenting the coast of Barbary will subject us to unnecessary expenses, if they are even executed with fidelity. As there is no regular course of exchange between Barbary & Europe, we should be obliged to send money to the Consuls to enable them to perform their engagements: the obtaining the specie would be liable to difficulties and disadvantages, and the sending of it attended with some risque and a considerable expense. As Eaton's letter . . . is dated several months after his letter on the same subject to me, I am apprehensive that we shall be obliged to procure the Jewels; but being uncertain whether the ship Hero, with the presents from America, had then arrived at Tunis, I cannot deduce from his letter any conclusive inference, and must therefore still wait for your advice.

As the Convention with France has been published, you have by this time seen and considered it. Mr. Ellsworth, whose health is precarious, being afraid of a winter's passage, was landed in this country, where he will remain thro' the winter, unless his complaint shd. oblige him to go to the South of France.

It will give you pleasure to know that this Government finds nothing in the Convention with France, which in its opinion we were not free to stipulate or that gives to England any ground of complaint; in an official conference with Ld. Glle. he gave me this opinion which I have transmitted to our Govt. Mr. Ellsworth has been at Court where he was received not only well, but with distinction. Murray has resumed his station at the Hague. The rest of the Mission excepting Mr. E, returned home in the Frigate.

Yr. obt. faithful Servt.

RUFUS KING.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 9 Nov., 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The subject which now occupies the public mind and excites much attention is a letter from General Hamilton to the President,* which you find annexed to this letter. It seems General Hamilton did not intend, although he had a number of

*The Pamphlet was entitled a "Letter from Alexander Hamilton concerning the public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq., President of the United States." It was published on the 22d of October, 1800, and contained a virulent attack upon him, personally as well as politically. Hamilton claimed that it was printed not for general distribution, but for convenience in sending it to his confidential friends. Mr. J. C. Hamilton, in his *Life of A. Hamilton*, vol. vii., p. 407, in a note, says: "That a spy had been placed in Hamilton's office is to be inferred from the early disclosure to Burr of the printing of this paper, &c."

"Col. Burr ascertained the contents of this Pamphlet and that it was in press. Its immediate publication he knew must distract the Federal party and thus promote the Republican cause in those States where the election had not yet taken place. Arrangements were accordingly made for a copy as soon as the printing of it was completed, and when obtained John Swartout, Robert Swartout and Matthew L. Davis, by appointment, met Col. Burr at his own house. The Pamphlet was read, and extracts were made for the press."—M. L. Davis, *Life of Aaron Burr*, vol. ii, p. 65.

copies printed, that the letter should come into general circulation until after the election. His object was to have it circulated in the mean time amongst his friends in order to give them a just view of Mr. Adams' character. His printers, however, in all probability played him a trick, and it happened that the Aurora got a copy, and proceeded to publish extracts from it. This led to the general circulation of it. When publication of the letter was first announced to the General, he was arguing a cause at Albany. At first he was apparently confused but soon afterwards he recollected himself, and I think he appears pleased with it. After reading the letter I expressed to him my apprehension that it would in the present state of things do harm to him personally, and to the federal cause generally. He replied that he had well considered it and had no doubt it would be productive of good. The letter has been read by all parties with prodigious avidity, and the spread of it has been extensive.

The general impression at Albany among our friends was that it would be injurious and they lamented the publication of it. Upon my return home I find a much stronger disapprobation of it expressed every where. In point of imprudence it is coupled with the pamphlet formerly published by the General respecting himself; and not a man in the whole circle of our friends but condemns it. The impression it has made among our friends in other states, I have not yet learned. Our enemies are universally in triumph. I have little or no doubt the latter will lay the foundation of a serious opposition to General Hamilton amongst the federalists, and that his usefulness hereafter will be greatly lessened. Noah Webster is open mouthed against him, and is supposed to be the author of Aristides. . . .

My good friend, my heart really bleeds at the prospect before us. In this state everything for the present is lost. Mr. Jay is determined to retire and so universal is the dissatisfaction with his administration that it has deterred every man of the federal party, who has pretentions to office, from suffering himself to be a candidate. The Lt. Governor (S. Van Rensselaer) has decidedly refused to be a candidate. The consequence is that no federal candidate will be supported—and from all appearances it is probable that the old Governor Clinton will be again brought forward.

After stating the general opinions relative to the probable vote for President in several States, Mr. Troup says:

Upon the whole in my opinion the chances are considerably in favor of Jefferson, and I believe little short of a miracle will exclude him considering the manner in which we are distracted. . . . The President lately passed through this for the seat of government, but he made no stay with us. On the contrary he appeared to travel with the expedition of an express. When here he met with General Hamilton's letter, which had just begun to circulate. . . .

Yours

R. T.

P. S. General Hamilton's letter appears to have been written and put into print without advising with any of his friends here.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

Nov. 13, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR:

I hardly know how any kind of Treaty with France can be "a subject of joy"; it may be the seed of sorrow & if the war is continued in Europe, *as it ought to be*, I expect a copious harvest; we are on sufficiently ill terms with G. B. already & on such with France as are best situated to our condition.

I send you the Centinel of this day which gives you a good idea of the presidential election: the federal vote will prevail & I think Adams be 1st & Pinckney 2d. . . .

Yours truly

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 89.

LONDON, Nov. 22, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I have duly received your letters to No. 5 inclusive; Soon after the receipt of No. 2., which was not before the 6th instant, I sent a note to Lord Grenville, informing him that I was ready, in consequence of the answer that I had received to my Despatches, transmitting to America what had passed between him and me

concerning the 6th article, to resume our conferences upon that subject. His Lordship appointed an early day for that purpose; but no meeting has yet taken place owing to his having been wholly engaged in the Negotiation of Peace, begun by Austria, but which, if we may credit the declaration of the Emperor, will not proceed unless jointly with England. To this mode of treating France has hitherto objected. The negotiation upon this subject that took place before the meeting of Parliament is now published and a copy of the correspondence is herewith transmitted.

Upon the arrival of Count Cobenzel at Paris, whither he was invited by letters which met him on his way to Luneville, he repeated the Declaration before made, that the Emperor would not treat of Peace separately and without England, and a messenger was dispatched by him to London for the purpose of announcing this Declaration; in answer to which it is understood that England immediately signified her readiness to send Mr. Grenville as minister on her part to Luneville. Some delay occurred in the arrival of Count Cobenzel's second courier, who it is thought brought the consent of France to the admission of the English minister at Luneville, but upon certain conditions in the nature of preliminaries between the two countries; after several days' deliberation the English Cabinet has returned an answer by the same courier, the purport of which is entirely unknown. The desire of England is to negotiate jointly, while France manifests strong preference to separate negotiation. If the conjecture be well founded, that a preliminary negotiation is going on by couriers, the principal points may probably be settled beforehand, and the business of the meeting at Luneville thereby freed from the chief difficulties it would otherwise have to encounter.

Upon the probability of the conclusion of Peace, well-informed persons continue to differ extremely in their opinions. Austria will make Peace if she can make a good bargain, which, as in former wars, she may probably be able to do; England, I mean the Government, desires to make peace with Buonaparte, and, from the language made use of by the English Ministry one would almost be led to think that she is now willing to countenance and support the First Consul upon the very principles which have induced her to oppose those who hitherto have been at the head of affairs of France.

Not a moment shall be lost on my part in the endeavor to concert a satisfactory arrangement respecting the 6th article of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce; but as the subject is of inferior consideration, it will be obliged to give place to the business, which at present engrosses the attention of the Cabinet.

I am particularly thankful to you, for the trouble you have taken in looking over the correspondence respecting the subject of your No. 5, as well as for the able consideration you have bestowed upon it. As soon as I discover an opportunity that promises an impartial consideration of the subject, I will again bring it forward, tho' I am apprehensive that we shall obtain little satisfaction so long as the war continues.

*Whatever may have been** the temper or inclination *of this Government* in a different *posture of its affairs and before the* Convention *with France* was published, *its sentiments* in respect *to that Instrument and the* distinguished manner *in which Mr. Ellsworth has been* received *by the Court* has a tendency to shew that, at present, *it has no animosity nor* unusual *prejudice against us;* on the contrary those who disseminate *its opinions* encourage the people to bear their distresses arising from the dearness of Bread, by holding forth to them the abundant harvest of America, and the prospect of a great supply from thence.

At present there in an entire interruption of Diplomatic intercourse between this country and Sweden. I will notwithstanding devise some means of sending the answer you recommend to the complaint of that Government.

Some short time before Col. Pickering went out of office, he informed me that as soon as good Bills could be had, he would send the annual remittances usually made to our Bankers in this country . . .

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

E. P. SCHOENBRON TO R. KING.

LONDON, Nov. 23, 1800.

MONSIEUR:

S. E. Monsieur le Comte de Wedel Jarlsberg en faisant part dans son tems à sa Cour de la reponse que vous a donnée Votre Gouvernement, Monsieur par rapport à l'intention de Roi, de

* Italics in cipher.

nommer un Consul qui dut resider dans les Etats-Unis de l'Amerique, à temoigne avoir remarqué le desir du dit Gouvernement, d' entrer avec le Danemark dans les relations plus directes qu'il n'en a existé jusqu'à present. Les sentimens * étant également ceux de Sa Majesté, Elle a resolu de ne pas se borner à la nomination d'un Consul, mais d'accréditer aupres des Etats-Unis un Employé revetû d' un caractère Diplomatique. Elle a fait choix pour ce poste du Sieur Bluher Olsen, jusqu'ici Son Consul á Maroc, et celui-ci vient d'étre nommé Ministre Resident et Consul Général du Roi, pres le gouvernement Americain.

En m' acquittant des Ordres de ma Cour de vous faire part, Monsieur, de cette nomination, j'ai a vous prier de vouloir bien donner à connâitre a Vôtre Gouvernement, que le Roi se flatte, qu'il la regarde comme une marque ouverte des dispositions amicales de Sa Majesté, et qui' Elle espère que le Sieur Olsen sera accueillé d'une manière conforme a ces sentimens.

L' absence de Monsieur le Comte de Wedel Jarlsberg, ayant fait tomber sur moi la presente notification, je m' empresse de profiter de cette occasion de vous témoigner, Monsieur, le plus vif interêt, que je prens á la resolution du Roi mon maitre, d'etablir ces nouvelles rélations d'amitié entre les deux Etats, et de vous assurer en même tems de l'estime et de la plus haute consideration avec lesquelles

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c. &c.

C. S. SCHOENBRON.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF WAR.

LONDON, Nov. 24, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I have taken measures, tho' considerable time will be required, to procure another collection of maps for your office, but with the utmost diligence I apprehend it will not be quite as

* R. KING TO HIS EXCELLENCY COUNT WEDEL DE JARLSBERG, ENVOY FROM DENMARK.

LONDON, Jan. 17, 1800.

SIR:

I have received, by the last mail from the U. S., an answer to my Dispatch which inclosed the copy of your letter to me, intimating the Disposition of his Danish Majesty, to appoint a Consul to reside in the U. S., and I am authorized to assure you that the Consul whom his D. M. shall send to the U. S. will be readily received.

With the most distinguished Consn. &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

copious as the collection in the possession of Col. McHenry, some few of the maps being scarce and difficult to be met with.

I have the honour &c.

R. KING.

WM. WILBERFORCE TO R. KING.

PALACE YD., Nov. 24, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR:

In conversing the other day with a friend concerning the abolition of the Slave Trade, he said he would ask you & another person to dine with him on Saty. next, & I promised to be of the party. Under these circumstances it occurs to me that I ought to remove any unpleasant feelings which might arise in your mind from an Idea that I had mention'd to my friend some particulars which recently took place in connection with the above interesting subject. I recollected, & this consideration I own kept me silent, that it was not my own secret & that it did not affect & involve myself only but others, in whose case there was not in any measure the same motive to prompt a disclosure (I mean the fear of appearing to have kept from the knowledge of a friend what ought to have been imparted to him & against whom the Disclosure might have produced unpleasant & even in a degree injurious Suspicions). If I were sure of being able within a day or two to drive up to get a sight of you, I would wait to explain more fully in person; but I believe you will understand what I have said, & it will prevent any uncomfortable sensations of the kind I have mentioned. I trust nothing will prevent our meeting on Saty., and I am with cordial esteem & regard, my dear sir, yours very sincerely,

W. W.

Either before we meet on Saty., or on our first meetg., I will in 3 words state to you how I find matters are situated in relation to the subject of my solicitude. They are not in so good a train as I would wish.

R. King to William Eaton, Esq.

London, Nov. 24, 1800.

Sir :

Soon after the receipt of your letter of the 6th of Oct., 1799, which I did not receive before the 24th of May, I mentioned the subject in a letter to the Secy. of State, in order that I might learn the opinion of the Government, respecting the proposed present of Jewels to the Bey of Tunis, and at the same time wrote to Mr. Smith, our Minister at Lisbon, giving it as my opinion that we should try to get rid of this and of every similar order, as highly impolitic, if not unnecessary. I was surprised a few days ago by Mr. Walmesby, of the house of Mawhood, Walmesby & Co., calling upon me to shew me your Letter to Mr. Jno. Jackson, their agent, desiring him to procure and send to Tunis the Jewels and other articles enumerated in your letter to me. I not only told Mr. Walmesby that I could not supply him with the money to make the purchase, but desired that they would suspend, for the present, sending the articles to you to be paid for, according to your request at Tunis.

My reasons for this proceeding are, that the President is not satisfied of the necessity, and strongly impressed with the impolicy of the measure, and tho' he has authorised me to complete it, if circumstances require it, I do not think it proper to do so, until I am ascertained of the Effect of the Presents from America which had not arrived at the date of your letter to me. The object of this letter is then to ascertain whether we cannot avoid making the present of Jewels. The sabre or Tagan, sent here to be mounted, has been sometime in hand, and will be finished and sent thro' the house of Mawhood, Walmesby & Co. in a few weeks. No measures have yet been taken to procure the Jewels, as we are in hopes that the value of the Presents already made, will enable you to obtain a release from this pretended engagement.

We persuade ourselves that you have exerted, and will continue to exert yourself, upon this particular subject, and tho' you cannot be answerable for the imprudence, or looseness of engagements made by other Persons, it will be a high proof of your Talents, if you should be able to extricate us from Inconveniences proceeding from their misconceptions and errors.

As the enclosures of your letter were carried by Dr. Shaw from

Lisbon to Philadelphia, I know nothing more respecting their Business than what is expressed in your letter to me. I wait for your reply to decide whether we shall be obliged to furnish the Present of Jewels or not.

With Great Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 90.

LONDON, 29 Nov., 1800.

DEAR SIR :

The annexed note from the Secretary of the Danish Legation announces the appointment of a Minister Resident by the King of Denmark to the United States.

I think it proper to send with this communication copies of my answer to it, as well as of the answer which by the President's orders I gave to a former note stating the intention of Denmark to appoint a Consular Agent to reside in the United States, in order that you may be the better able to appreciate the motive which is suggested to have induced his Danish Majesty to give a diplomatic character to the person whom he at first thought of sending to America merely as a Consul. I should add that no conversation on my part has gone beyond the sentiments expressed in the correspondence between me and Count Wedel, copies of which are in your possession.

*You will** soon be able *to ascertain whether the mission of* the Sieur Bluher Olsen *has any relation to the views at* present ascribed *to the Northern Powers in respect to the commercial rights of maritime nations.*

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c. &c.

MR. KING TO M. SCHOENBRON.

LONDON, Nov. 29, 1800.

SIR :

I have had the honour to receive, and will immediately transmit to my Government, the communication on the part of his Danish Majesty which you have been pleased to make to me of

* Italics in cipher.

the appointment of the Sieur Bluher Olsen as Minister Resident and Consul General to the United States of America.

I entreat you to accept my respectful acknowledgements of the obliging manner in which you have announced the Mission of the Sieur Bluher Olsen, together with the assurance of the high consideration and Esteem with which I have the honour &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

W. WILBERFORCE TO R. KING.

PALACE YD., Dec. 2, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR:

I return you my thanks for your very obliging communication. It is gratifying to me from the subject of it, and still more from its being the friendly attention of one for whom I entertain a sincere Esteem & Regard. I cannot help taking this opportunity of expressing my sincere regret that my indifferent Health & numerous occupations compel me in so great a degree to deny myself the pleasure & advantages of social Intercourse, & among those whose company I give up the most unwillingly, you (excuse the freedom of the declaration) are included. I still hope, howr. that I may have the pleasure of meeting you occasionally, & shd. be especially glad to meet you out of London, when living nominally in the same town might not imply being 2 miles asunder.

I have had intentions of writing to you on the Subject of American Vessels trading on the coast of Africa. All I meant to say is not now in my mind, full of other matters. But I rememr. one object I had in view was to ask you to be so kind as to advise me (en ami & relying on my perfect secrecy) how we had best proceed in order to prosecute the Owners or Masters of such vessels as should break the law enacted for preventing the carrying on of the Slave Trade by American Vessels. I understand it is a common fraud to clear out for the Canaries or Teneriff. Might it not answer the desired end if we were to transmit from Sierra Leone the Names & Descriptions of the Vessels, the. masters &c. to the Abolition Society in America, or is

there any Officer of the Govt. to whom it might be more proper to apply. I hope Mrs. King & all your family are in good health.

I am, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

W. WILBERFORCE.

Endorsed by R. King:

Ansd. 9 Decr. recommending the Abolition Society as the best agents &c.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 4 Dec., 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . . This is the day appointed for the election of President and Vice President. The calculations now are that Adams and Pinckney will outrun Jefferson & Burr. Indeed the last named gentleman is considered as standing no chance whatever of success. . . . This opinion is based upon the votes of the States, now known, and, that, in South Carolina, all our accounts agree that the last election of members of the Legislature terminated in the triumph of the federalists, and that the electors appointed by them will of course be decidedly federal. General Pinckney who wrote a letter to General Hamilton after the election, and before the event was certainly known, puts much confidence in the appointment of federal electors and says that they would vote honorably according to the agreement in Philadelphia for Adams and himself. It is this success in S. Carolina that determines the event of the election. . . . My own opinion is that Adams will be President; there are calculators, however, who think Pinckney stands the best chance. General Hamilton makes no secret of his opinion that Jefferson should be preferred to Adams. . . . This letter (Hamilton's) continues to be disapproved of here. I have not yet met with a dissenting voice here. General Hamilton, however has received some consolatory letters from gentlemen of distinction in other States. The letter has added much to his unpopularity here, and I have reason to think it is likewise the case to the Eastward. . . .

Mr. Jay has publickly declined being a candidate for the office of Governor at the ensuing election in April next. When the Legislature sat in the last month, for the appointment of electors,

the democrats nominated the old Governor (Clinton) for the office. This nomination is said to be one not agreeable to Burr, who wished after the event of the general election was known, to be in a situation to run himself as Governor. . . .

Numerous pamphlets have appeared under anonimous signatures agt. Hamilton's letter. It is possible he may answer them. The reception of his letter here has been a source of pain to him. . . .

Yours,

R. T.

R. KING TO MR. NETZEL, CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF HIS SWEDISH MAJESTY.

LONDON, December 5, 1800.

SIR :

By reason of the casualty to which the distance of America sometimes exposes the correspondence of its European agents, it was a long time before the arrival of the Dispatch, enclosing to my Government the Letters of the Baron of Silverhjelm to me of the 9th of August, 1799, complaining of the conduct of two private armed American Ships towards a Cutter of his Sweedish Majesty.

The answer to this communication, which I have but just received, instructs me to state to you for the information of his Swedish Majesty that immediately upon the receipt of this complaint, precise orders were given by the President of the United States to inquire into the circumstances thereof ; and provided they shall appear to be such as they have been represented, I am authorized to assure you that ample damages will, if demanded, be decreed by the American Tribunals against the commanders of the said ships, and moreover that their conduct will be animadverted upon in a manner corresponding to the nature of the offence ; it being a fixed principle of the American Government to maintain its claim to a friendly treatment of its own Flag & People, by the respect and friendship it requires of them to practice towards those of other Nations.

I await myself, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XXV.

King to Secretary of State—England and Austria decline, France insists on separate Peace—France hopes to effect Reconciliation with Russia—Prussia cautions—Russia displeased with England—Malta surrendered to the English—France would revive the armed Neutrality—Effect of this on maritime States—King to Wolcott—Sufficient Arms manufactured in the United States—To Secretary of State—England must have Grain—Will take all United States can spare—Temper of England favorable to Negotiations—Should first settle Matter of the 6th Article—Proposal to pay a precise Sum — Calculation of how much — Should not exceed £400,000—J. McHenry to King—Retired from Department of War—Jefferson and Burr President and Vice-President—King to G. Morris—Peace more uncertain—Effort will be made to draw United States into the War—Our Policy Neutrality—Pickering to King—Relative to his Son—Result of the presidential Election—Jefferson incapable of removing his Opponents from Office—If Treaty with France ratified Navy will be hauled up—King to Eaton—Has, under the Secretary's Instructions, ordered the Jewels—If any Payments in making Treaties hereafter, make them as small as possible—Cabot to King—Speculations on Result of the Election—Does not think there will be violent Changes in Office—All calm—Less Exultation on one Side, much less Depression on the other—Hale to King—Feds prefer Burr to Jefferson—Whichever chosen, Men of Prudence do not expect the Evils predicted, if either elected—Peter Porcupine's Writings serve to feed Jealousies between us and Great Britain—Troup to King—Hamilton says if Burr is elected, he will withdraw from the Party and public Concerns—He would ratify French Treaty—His Letter shows he wants Discretion—The Future very uncertain.

R. King to Secretary of State.

No. 92.

London, Dec. 12, 1800.

Dear Sir:

Tho' Count Cobenzel was still at Luneville as late as the 4th instant & Austria and England continue to decline separate negotiations, & France persists in refusing a joint one; it seems that hostilities are about to be resumed, unless prevented by the

rigour of the season, with the view of compelling the Emperor to conclude a separate Peace. It is on many accounts the manifest policy of France to negotiate with her enemies separately; and having, as is believed, effected a Reconcilation with Russia, whose resentment against England has recently displayed itself in the Embargo imposed upon upwards of two hundred English ships, and the sequestration of more than three millions sterling of English property, France will make great efforts to disembarrass herself of Austria, in order that her whole force may be free to act in concert, as she may hope, with the North of Europe against England. Whether the Northern Powers will enter into such a confederacy, as will give to France the advantages and support she may expect, is uncertain, although their dissatisfaction towards England is by no means doubtful.

The system of Prussia is that of extreme caution, and there is reason to believe, notwithstanding the late measure of her sending troops to occupy Cuxhaven, that she has given such answers to the explanations demanded by England, as well in respect to that measure as with regard to a Northern Confederacy and the proceedings of Russia, as are satisfactory. Both Denmark & Sweden, which desired to be backed by Russia in order to give weight to the representations against the maritime pretensions of England, are, it is understood, unwilling to go either so fast or so far as their imperial neighbour seems disposed to do. During the winter no fleet can enter the Baltic or the Euxine, a circumstance which affords an opportunity for explanations, which may be sought for by the interference of Prussia. These endeavours will be skillfully counteracted by the policy of France, which has already done much to produce the extraordinary measures of the Russian government. The first symptoms of displeasure on the part of Russia against England are ascribed to the too great moderation of the latter in supporting the complaints of the former against Austria.

After the complete secession of the Russians, the First Consul proposed at Vienna and afterwards at London, to exchange the Russian prisoners against an equal number of French prisoners, soldiers or seamen; this was refused. The proposal could not be unknown at Petersburgh, and at a proper time in the course of the summer, and when it might have been foreseen in France

that Malta could not hold out much longer against the besiegers, the French Government went a step farther, and to complete the breach between Russia and the Allies, offered to deliver Malta into the possession of the Emperor as its Grand Master, and to release the Russian prisoners in order that they might be employed to garrison the Island.

Measures are said to have been in great forwardness to give effect to this Proposal, when Malta surrendered to the English forces. The effect of the Disappointment has been essentially such as was probably expected, and England has not only been subjected to the indignity of the sequestration laid upon her Property, and the imprisonment of four or five thousand of her seamen, but may find it difficult with her utmost endeavours to avoid a war with the Nations from which she draws the principal means of maintaining her naval superiority.

France is too adroit to suffer the present occasion to pass without endeavouring to revive the scheme of the Armed Neutrality. The influence of Russia will be (made) use of to engage the consent of Sweden and Denmark. Other Powers will be invited to join the coalition, and measures may perhaps be devised to restrict the commerce of such nations as shall refuse to accede to it.

Against the success of the Project, in addition to the precarious nature of all confederacies, we may reckon the possible defeat of the French armies, should hostilities recommence ; the unwillingness of Prussia to enter into the Confederacy, and her presumed disposition even to defeat it ; the reluctance of Denmark, which is here understood to have intended nothing beyond mere demonstration ; and the unavoidable embarrassments of the Confederates, arising from the sudden and almost total stagnation of their Trade. Should however the winter pass away without producing a Reconciliation, England must engage in a war with Russia, which cannot fail to draw in Denmark and Sweden, and which in its progress will involve the Porte in new and critical embarrassments ; a war, whether we regard the Nations engaged, the object of their disagreement, or the advantages it may afford to maritime States, which refuse to take a part in it, which must materially and extensively affect our Navigation and commerce, and which will call upon us deliber-

ately to appreciate the wisdom of adhering to the policy which has hitherto led us to avoid all political connections with Europe, as well as impartially to estimate the uncertain value of the object that may be held forth for the purpose of drawing us into the Confederacy.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO OLIVER WOLCOTT, ESQ.

LONDON, Dec. 12, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I have the honour to receive your letter of Oct. 6th and am happy to learn that the manufacture of arms is now so well established as to preclude the necessity of further importations. . . .

With greatest Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 93.

LONDON, Dec. 13, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

Parliament is still in session, and chiefly employed in devising means to economize and encrease the food of the country, whose embarrassments are encreased by the various impediments which will materially diminish the supplies expected from the North of Europe. America is the only country from which a considerable and certain importation is looked for, and such is the deficiency of corn, that all we can spare, and of every species, will find a high and certain market.

I am not unmindful that the present is a favorable moment for the discussion of the Questions of disagreement between us & this Government; and in one or two conferences with Lord Grenville I have thought I perceived a temper which promises rather more than I have of late been accustomed to expect; but owing to his constant engagement between the business of Parliament and the Duties of his office, I have not yet been able to make any positive progress in the negotiation. Having long believed that Governments which have distinctly expressed an opinion upon a contro-

verted point are rarely induced to change it by reasons which are subsequently presented, I have preferred to begin with the proposal to get rid of the 6th Article, instead of renewing the attempt to explain and amend it. This has been done in a way that will not prejudice our Demand of an explanatory Article, should we fail to agree upon terms which will wholly supersede it. Having mentioned to Lord Grenville that I was authorised to consent to the payment of a precise sum, in lieu of whatever might, pursuant to the 6th Article, be awarded against the U. S., and he having consented to discuss any proposition to that effect which I might offer, I prepared and sent to him the annexed paper; He has since informed me that measures have been taken on his part with the view to ascertain how far my estimates are correct, adding that as soon as he is able to proceed, he will give me notice in order that we may resume our conferences. In the mean time some other points are brought forward and put in a train for discussion. But I am bound to add that so little progress has yet been made, and all that has passed has been of so general a nature, that nothing with certainty can be inferred in respect to the issue of the negotiation.

With Perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

It seems impracticable to ascertain with any degree of precision the amount of debt due at any one time from American Debtors to British Creditors, and every estimate must therefore be liable to considerable uncertainty. As the Debt arose from the supply of goods furnished by British Merchants, the List of British Exports seems to offer the best material for forming an Estimate. So far as the American Merchants and Planters purchased their goods in England with cash, which to a limited extent they are understood to have done, the list of Exports will require correction, as the value of the goods paid for before they were exported, should be taken from the aggregate amount of the exports, in order to ascertain the value of goods annually supplied on Credit. It is reasonable to infer from a long series of annual credits a correspondent series of annual payments; but although the payments may be supposed to have nearly kept pace with and balanced

the new Debt annually contracted, since otherwise the Trade would have been discontinued, it is nevertheless probable that there was at all times an average arrearage of old and doubtful Debts, upon the Recovery of which there was little Reliance ; and against the loss whereof, the Creditors indemnified themselves in the price at which their goods were charged : It may however seem proper to make some allowance on account of these doubtful Debts, in forming an Estimate of the amount of the American Debt at the breaking out of the war. As it is wholly uncertain at what sum this arrearage should be estimated, it seems to be a fair manner of disposing of it, to place its uncertain amount against the equally uncertain amount of the goods paid for by American Merchants and Planters before their exportation, and which should be deducted from the value of their Annual Exports, if the amount thereof be taken as the amount of new Debt annually contracted. Assuming then, which may be done, without much risk of Error, the average amount of annual exports of Great Britain to the United States for a certain number of years before the war, as the best evidence of the amount of the Debt due from the American Debtors to British Creditors when the war commenced, it remains only to ascertain the average amount of the Exports in order to fix the amount of the Debt.

Mr. Chalmers in his Estimate of the comparative strength of Great Britain, states the average Exports of *British Manufacturers* to the United States for 6 years ending with 1774 (the period immediately preceding the war) at..... £2,216,324

If this sum be increased by $\frac{1}{5}$.....	443,264	
(which is a large proportion on acct. of goods not of British manufacture) the result will stand at.....		£2,659,588
Lord Sheffield states the average exports of England to the United States for 10 years ending with 1770 at.....	1,763,409	
If this sum be increased by adding $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole Exports of Scotland estimated at £800,000.....	200,000	
The result is.....		1,963,409
The average of the two estimates gives an annual Export.....		2,311,498

A sum that probably approaches pretty near the true amount of the American Debt at the period before mentioned.

If the condition of the Debtors, the influence of the war, and above all the operation of the paper money be understood and considered, it will be thought a moderate estimate that the British Creditors suffered a loss of 50 per cent. upon the whole of their Debt by the insolvency of their Debtors between the commencement and conclusion of the war. To judge from the proportion recovered by the Creditors in those parts of the United States, in which it is not pretended that any legal impediments have stood in their way, the loss by insolvency during the war would come nearer to $\frac{2}{3}$ than to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the original debt. Estimating it at one half, the Debt on the return of Peace would be £1,155,749.

As in a majority of the States, including the large commercial towns, the Creditors have experienced no material Difficulties in collecting their Debts, it is reasonable to believe, that at least as much as one half of the sum, which the Debtors were able to pay at the close of the war has been recovered, this deduction would leave £577.874 of the sum due at the return of Peace ; which by the addition of interest having nearly doubled itself may now amount to the sum of £1.155.749.

The amount of the claims exhibited at Philadelphia will not serve to invalidate the foregoing observations, when it is understood, besides their general and acknowledged inaccuracy, some of them presenting only the Debtor's side of the account & others no account at all, that these claims include the Debts due from Persons insolvent before the war as well as from those who became so during its continuance ; so that without the trouble of a particular examination, it will be found that they will rather corroborate than weaken the preceding Estimate.

If it could be ascertained how much of this sum can be recovered of the Debtors, the difference would shew the amount for which the Creditors have a claim upon the United States.

Notwithstanding the complaints of the Creditors, it is certain that such of them as have taken the requisite pains, have been gradually recovering their Debts ; and it is probable that their success would at this time have been much more complete, had they not in many instances been seduced from the pursuit of their Judicial Remedies by the expectation they believed them-

selves authorized to entertain from the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners at Philadelphia. At present no legal impediments obstruct their suits, and from the general Prosperity of every part of the United States during the last ten years there is reason to conclude that the circumstances of British Debtors have improved in common with those of their neighbours.

The Debt still outstanding is chiefly due in those States which produce the principal staple articles of American Commerce, the aggregate value of which articles exported from the five Southern States from 1700 to 1770 exceeded according to Lord Scheffield's tables by ten millions sterling the aggregate value of the Goods imported into the United States from Great Britain during the same period. Another circumstance in respect to the ability of the Debtors deserves consideration. In most of the States the British Debtors were American Merchants who resided in the large towns and sold their goods on credit to the Traders and Shopkeepers dispersed throughout the country. When the Paper money had depreciated, the Country Traders and Shopkeepers paid their Debts to the American Merchants, who having no way to make Remittances to their British Creditors, lost by farther Depreciation the Payments received from their Debtors and the chief means of paying their own Debts. In some of the States, including those from whence the largest portion of the remaining Debt is supposed to be due, it was the usual practice that a partner or agent of the British House came with the goods to America, where he retailed them on credit among the Planters and being on the spot received his payments in the Productions of the Country. On the breaking out of the war these Partners and Agents returned to Great Britain, and thereby avoided the payment of their Debts in a medium, which finally suffered a ruinous Depreciation ; their Debtors were numerous, and in general owed but moderate sums, and tho' sufferers in the course of the war by the loss of Slaves and the dilapidation of their Estates, their property was not diminished in an equal degree with that of the American Merchants, who received in a depreciated paper, the Debts upon which they depended to pay their British Creditors.

The tendency of these Reflections is to prove, that in the present unobstructed course of justice, the Creditors may be able with

the care and diligence which it is their duty to employ, to recover a great proportion of their outstanding Debts; if this proportion should be equal, as it is believed it would be, to ⅔ds of the whole, the claim against the U. States would not exceed £400,000.

R. KING.

LONDON, Nov. 23d, 1800.

JAMES MCHENRY TO R. KING.

BALTIMORE, 18th Decr., 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . You have long ere this known of my quitting the Department of War. I now have the satisfaction of informing you with sincerity, that the circumstances which preceded my retirement, have given a double zest to my enjoyment of domestic ease and comforts. Mr. Pickering was displaced, as you must have heard, soon after myself, and Mr. Wolcott, the last shred in the Washington administration, has notified his intention of retiring at the close of this year, with the consent of the President.

Public men, you will observe, are changed and changing. Whether there will be a *total* revolution in measures also, time must discover. Mr. Jefferson & Burr have certainly been elected by the electors, the one President the other Vice President. It is also highly probable, that the government, must in a little time, be exclusively in the hands of the opposition. Who is to blame for all this? The men who sincerely supported Mr. Adams or Mr. Adams, who insincerely deserted his supporters?

Your faithful and obliged hble. servt.

JAMES MCHENRY.

COPY OF A MEMORANDUM IN R. K'S HANDWRITING.

19th Dec., 1800.

A. No person shall upon the high sea, be impressed or taken against his will, out of any ship or vessel belonging to the inhabitants of other nations by the men of war or privateers of the other: and every offence against this stipulation shall be severely punished

B. Explanatory article respecting naval stores formerly agreed to; a Draught sent to Mr. Hammond in 1798.

C. His Majesty consents to relinquish all claims to the Bank Stock which belonged to the colony of Maryland, now standing in the name of the accounted general of the Court of Chancery; and measures shall without delay be taken to transfer the same to the Agent of the State of Maryland.

New Orleans to be considered as an Amer. Port—Vice ady. courts in W. Indies Orders &c.

N. B. Articles A, B & C delivered to Lord Grenville 19th Dec., 1800.

R. KING TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

LONDON, Dec. 20, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I am in your Debt for one or two letters which you had the goodness to write to me in the course of the summer, and tho' my acknowledgements have been so long delayed, I am still unable to accompany them with any satisfactory conjecture even respecting the conclusion of the war. Some months ago there was an appearance of a general Peace; instead of which new embarrassments have arisen in the North which threaten to involve Nations which have hitherto remained neuter, and Peace is likely to become more uncertain, and the war more extensive and difficult than ever.

Pains will still be taken to draw us in; but our policy is so connected with our interest, which I think is well understood, that I am willing to believe that we shall adhere to the system we have so discreetly adopted upon the subject of European Connections. The two last years' profits of our Farmers are arguments of no contemptible weight, and with all the supplies which England will be able to procure, and her chief dependence is upon America, such is the deficiency of corn that little or none will be on hand at the commencement of the next harvest, and, should it be even an abundant one, the country will require large supplies during the next year.

With Sincere Esteem & Respect, &c.

RUFUS KING.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Easton, Decr. 27, 1800.

My dear Sir:

Your letters are dated April 22. (marked "private & personal") July 25 and Sept 2d. Of the first I have recd. a duplicate; and as it relates wholly to a subject of great public concern, I think I ought to transmit it to General Marshall, *confidentially*, for the purpose for which you wrote it; tho' I cannot but suppose that you have made to him a similar communication, since you found him in office.

The character you give of my son corresponds with the testimony of others; but your discernment stamps it with double value. His profession will separate him from me; for with a mind stored with useful knowledge, with a sound judgment, great industry, & probity, he will be qualified to act on a theatre less private and obscure than that to which I am destined for the remnant of my life. I shall regret the separation: but it is an event in no wise singular: and for his interest I would cheerfully make a greater sacrifice.—As to the time of his return to America. I have left it to his own decision, upon your advice, which I know will be given him with the truest regard to his advantage. I wish he may have visited the continent the past autumn—if to be visited at all—that he may be ready to return in the Spring with Mr. Sitgreaves. In this event he will come directly to Pennsylvania, and see the family, prior to his settling down at Salem, to pursue the study of the law. When qualified for the bar, and initiated in the practice, his success will determine his permanent abode: I shall be pleased if he shall find it for his interests to remain at Salem.

The issue of the *great election* is known; Mr. Jefferson & Mr. Burr are chosen for President and Vice President. It is said in one of the newspapers that General Pinckney has written to Mr. Jefferson, that So. Carolina gave 8 votes for him and 7 for Mr. Burr. Their votes for them in the other states were equal, so far as they have been published: for the votes of Kentucky and Tennessee have not yet appeared; tho' nobody can doubt of their unanimity for J. & B. General Pinckney might have been chosen —at least have stood on a par with Mr. Jefferson, if the federalists

in the legislature of So. Carolina would have consented to have placed Mr. J. on the ticket: but the latter considered themselves pledged to vote for Mr. *Adams* & General Pinckney. But as it was manifest that So. Carolina held the scales—that Mr. A. could not possibly be elected—and that Mr. P. might be—the *principle* of the federalists of the Union, to ensure a *federal* president would have warranted a departure from an implied agreement (explicit on the part of a few leading men) predicated on the ground of their commanding the votes of that state.

Democratic principles seem to be evidently increasing: and tho' Mr. J. is incapable of acting the part of the Governor of Pennsylvania, in removing from office all his *opponents*, yet when *vacancies* happen, no doubt he will fill them with his friends; and the hopes of office will add to their number.

You will see that Mr. Wolcott has resigned; the resignation to take effect the last of this month. I know not who is contemplated for his successor. I hazard a conjecture that it may be Mr. Dexter, to whom the treasury will be more congenial than the War Office.

The treaty with the French Republic is before the Senate. We have a copy published in the news-papers, taken, I believe, from the French publication at Paris. If it be ratified, our little navy will be hauled up. This will restore to me my second son; and if he incline (which I count on) to join me in the *Woods*, I shall prosecute my rural improvements with fresh spirit. He has a hardihood well adapted to the undertaking.

There is a news-paper report that Judge Ellsworth is about to resign: I should be gratified to see our friend Sitgreaves on the Bench. If Judge Ellsworth contemplated a resignation, when at Paris, I hope he may have mentioned it to Mr. S. & that he may be authorized to recommend the latter to the P.

By a letter from Mr. Liston, dated at Norfolk the 10th instant, it appears that he was to embark the next day for Antigua: and he expects to arrive in London the next April. Great Britain may not be in haste to appoint a successor. However, I earnestly hope that nothing will occur to deprive the U. States of your services at that court.

Faithfully yours

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

GEO. CABOT TO R. KING.

Dec. 28, 1800.

We are disappointed in the election at South Carolina notwithstanding the indubitable assurance received from thence. There is a remarkable calm here since the success of the Democratic Electors has been known. Some of the Jacobins are afraid Mr. J. will not administer the Govt. according to their wishes, others of them think it was easy & pleasant to rail & find fault but difficult to govern & vindicate ; they are unwilling to take responsibility upon themselves or friends : others are afraid Burr will be Chief. Violent Adamsites are chagrined to see an issue the fear of which they treated as chimerical or artificially wrought up to serve Pinckney : the Anti Adamsite Fedts see no greater evil in this issue than one which their own measures might have produced & some of Mr. Adams' friends doubtless are reconciled to this as much better than the Election of Pinckney. If Jefferson or Burr support the existing policy, the opposition will be broken, & if they grossly violate it, *we* shall grow stronger. You will rejoice to see that New England has behaved well in this business & to learn from me that the disposition to maintain the National Union & Govt. is cultivating with much zeal.

Wolcott leaves his office in excellent order—the public creditors are safe against everything but total Revolution ; a little abuse or mismanagement will be easily rectified by & by.

I am so much out of the world that it is not extraordinary if I differ from those who live in it. You know my habits of thinking perfectly & therefore will not wonder that I am still for war. Ames & I still adhere to the opinion that England must not yet make peace & fully believe if she persevere she will triumph over France. But now France is too strong for the safety of her neighbors. She must therefore if possible be reduced & from the nature & composition of her power she will be reduced if England persevere, Jacobinism in France is dead & the stock of force it yielded will be soon diminished so as to be controuled.

Yours faithfully & affectionately.

R. KING TO WILLIAM EATON, ESQ.

LONDON, Dec. 28, 1800.

SIR :

Since the date of my Letter of the 24. ultimo, I have received yours of the 1st. of April. Though neither the Hero nor the Anna Maria had then reached Tunis, and consequently you could not determine what influence the delivery of the naval and military stores might have in support of your exertions to get rid of the present of Jewels, yet according to the tenor of the Secretary of State's letter of the 17th of January last, I think you were authorised to procure them ; and if your Letter, enclosing a copy of the Secretary's Letter to you, had arrived as soon as your letter to Mawhood & Co., I should have desired them to execute your order, instead of requesting them to suspend it. Though I do not relinquish the hope that you will be able to get rid of a part, if not the whole of the present of Jewels, I have determined to take immediate measures to procure all of them. Some articles may soon be prepared and sent ; others will require a long time before they can be made ; if by your exertions they are not required at Tunis, they will be ready when occasion calls for them elsewhere. It may not be amiss to remark to you that we should avoid, if possible, admitting Spain, the Proprietor of Peru, as well as the ancient and inveterate Enemy of the Barbary Powers, as the standard by which our Tribute is to be measured. Our circumstances bear a greater resemblance to those of Denmark & Sweden, and our Tribute ought not to exceed what is paid by them. Both these Powers complain heavily that we have gone to work so full handed with the Barbary Powers, and in our Ransoms, Presents & Tribute have been so lavish as to have materially disturbed the economy with which they had immemorially managed their affairs with those Regencies ; and to confess the truth there is but too much reason in this complaint. Would not your letters reach England expeditiously thro' Malta ?

With great Respect &c

RUFUS KING.

G. Cabot to R. King.

December 28, 1800.

I wrote you a short letter this morning which goes to Cowes & is accompanied by a half sheet of the Centinel containing the best intelligence we have of the state of the Election. By that you will see that Jefferson & Burr have a majority of 3 votes; the former will probably be chosen by the house if they are equal: this at least is my opinion altho' many persons of good judgment think otherwise.

I am unable to comprehend the consistency of Mr. Ellsworth's 6th article with the 25th of Mr. Jay's Treaty. There appears to me an incompatibility, but I hear & see no remarks of this kind abroad. It is taken for granted by many that the decided Federalists in high office will generally be dismissed & their places filled by Democrats. *I* do not think there will be many violent changes if any; I only expect that whenever vacancies do happen they will be then filled with our opponents. In the meantime those of our friends who are in office will be a check on our foes & will at least delay, perhaps avert great mischief. You know my disposition to see things in a gloomy light, but I rather indulge this disposition when evils are before us than after they arrive. In the present case I am far from being satisfied that our National affairs will essentially suffer. I think a President reputedly federal wou'd have injured us more by a defective administration than one of an opposite name; in the case of wrong policy by a federal President the federal Party are of consequence divided & broken, but under a President of an opposite character they are consolidated & strengthened by his bad conduct. On the other hand if a Democratic President supports the existing Systems he weakens the Democratic party. If the new President attempts to tie us too closely to France, if wantonly or unjustly he exposes us to an unnecessary & ruinous war with England, if he disturbs public credit, he will reanimate & recombine with fresh zeal the whole federal party against him & if he forbears he will disappoint & divide his friends. We are all calm here; there is less exultation on one side & *much less* depression on the other than you wou'd imagine if you did not see the movements of men's hearts as well as listen to their words.

I spare you the trouble of reading what is unnecessary for me to write in explanation of these *phenomena*. There is here a Mr. Dunn, an Irish Gentleman, who has been in this Country several years—he brought a letter to me from Fitzsimons; I have not seen him very often; *his manners are singular* but he possesses much sense & information & has my promise of a letter to you. It wou'd have been well for you if the world did not know the friendship which subsists between us, or if it did not estimate my claims upon you by the esteem, respect & regard which it is known I entertain for you.

Yours truly,

G. C.

JOSEPH HALE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, 29 Dec., 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . . It seems you have been apprized of the feuds & animosities which have had their full scope with our prominent federal men. The result you have probably anticipated to be the triumph of antifederal candidates. Mr. Jefferson & Burr have doubtless a majority of the electoral votes & probably each the same number. It will therefore rest with the house to give the precedency. It is fashionable with feds to declare in favor of Mr. Burr. May their predilection be gratified! tho' upon the whole I do not think it probable. Men of the most judgment with us do not expect those evils to follow the adminn. of Jeff. or Burr, which while they were candidates it was thought politic to predict. The experience of the past seven years has probably corrected the wild notions heretofore imputed to them. Unhappily indeed are we placed when our principal consolation is to be derived from the very source of our misfortunes. The possible prudence, sagacity & firmness of federalists ought to furnish us with another source of comfort.

We are really in the dark upon the subject of European politics. The indications of peace & of war perplex our understandings. The internal distresses of England, we lament, not only for the sake of Englishmen, but from their possible tendency to procrastinate the return of peace to the European world & to give to their enemy too great a preponderance. We feel an in-

terest in their welfare notwithstanding the insults & injuries we too frequently experience in our very harbours. But yesterday a gentleman from Newport informed me that a Halifax privateer had been laying off & on the Island for several days with a supposed intention of capturing two or three American vessels about to sail from Newport. Notwithstanding the idle gasconade of Peter Porcupine in his first London paper, the Halifax squadron with the ten great ships would not, were we in actual hostility, be capable of thus insulting our coasts with impunity. If Peter could permit himself to take a fair view of the subject he would find that the conduct of the English marine towards Americans justifies a greater degree of coolness, than we have yet manifested towards that country. If he with all his vaunted sagacity & long residence here were capable of appreciating the American character, he would find that Americans of all people are least influenced by slavish motives to resent insult and injury. His writings under the idle pretence of manly sentiment serve so directly to kindle & to feed undue jealousies between our country & Gt. Britain that had not I long considered him as one of the most inconsistent of beings I should certainly conclude him to be a hireling of Buonaparte.

Your friend & most obed. Servt.

J. H.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 31 Dec., 1800.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Perhaps you will be still more astonished to hear that a serious opinion is growing up among our friends at Washington that Burr ought to be preferred to Jefferson in case both have the same number of votes; that is that the House of Representatives ought to prefer Burr! Dayton of New Jersey, and in the Senate, is a warm advocate of this preference; but he is not equal in influence to other federalists who advocate it. I rather think, however, that Jefferson will have more votes in the House of Representatives than Burr. Our friend Hamilton declares that if the federal party play so dangerous a game as to support Burr, and he should succeed in consequence of it, he will withdraw from the party and from all public concerns. Hence you may

conclude that he is exerting all his might against Burr; and this is really the fact. . . .

Our late Convention with France has been published in our papers from a London paper. It is popular with the great mass of the community. The Senate now have it under consideration. . . . The general opinion is that it will be ratified. Hamilton is labouring to procure its ratification; he has received a letter from Mr. Ellsworth, with its enclosure; but before the letter came, he had decided that under all existing circumstances with us, it would be the wisest course for the Senate to ratify. . . .

The current of public opinion still sets strongly against the discretion of Hamilton's late letter respecting the character and conduct of Mr. Adams. I do not believe it has altered a single vote in the late election, and yet letters from respectable federalists in South Carolina assert that it accomplished the democratical majority in the South Carolina Legislature. The influence however of this letter upon Hamilton's character is extremely unfortunate. An opinion has grown out of it, which at present obtains almost universally, that his character *is radically deficient in discretion*, and therefore the federalists ask, what avail the most preeminent talents—the most distinguished patriotism—without the all important quality of discretion? Hence he is considered as an unfit head of the party—and we are in fact without a rallying point. I have for some time past consoled myself with the idea that Mr. Ellsworth would form a rallying point for us. This idea, however, has vanished with his resignation of the office of Chief-Justice. We fear he is lost to public life forever! What destinies await us must be left to that Supreme Governor who directs all things according to his sovereign pleasure. . . .

Adieu

R. T.

CHAPTER XXVI.

McHenry to King—Jefferson or Burr equal Votes—Whichever chosen, Changes in Conduct of the Government—Burr's Professions of Fidelity to the Wishes and Expectation of the United States—Opposition in violent State of Apprehension lest Jefferson be not chosen—King to Secretary of State—The King's Title changed by adding "and Ireland"—Pickering to King—Jay nominated as Chief Justice, but refused—Both Parties reprobate the Convention with France—Election still doubtful—If Burr, fewer Changes in Office; If Jefferson, more—Speculations on the possible Result—Lawrance to King—Convention with France—General Wish it should be taken as it is—Changes may bring King Home, where he will be cordially received—King to Secretary of State—France and Austria to treat separately—Probable maritime War between England and the Rest of Europe—This should favor speedy Adjustment of our Affairs with England—Asked to discuss the Arrangements respecting the sixth Article with Mr. Anstey, Lord Grenville pleading Press of Business—If Result satisfactory well, if not will fall back upon an explanatory Article—Lord Grenville to King—Explanation of Captain Bainbridge's entering Harbour of Constantinople, with Algerine Flag flying—Objection made—Asked to be put under the Protection of the English Minister—To take down Algerine Flag and substitute the American Pendant—Hale to King—Senate ratified the Convention with France with Modifications—Negotiations with France show a Want of Firmness—Prefers Burr to Jefferson—Richard Peters to King—The pending presidential Election—Turnbull to King—Offer of Services of his Firm at Gibraltar to the Consul there.

The last chapter closes the year 1800 and ends with the announcement of the defeat of Mr. Adams in the Presidential election and the certainty that Mr. King's old friends were to lose the power to control the destinies of the country, whether Jefferson or Burr succeeded to the struggle. The whole policy and the principles upon which the public affairs had, except perhaps in the last years of Adams's administration, been conducted were certainly to be changed, if Jefferson or Burr were true to those they had advocated.

Both of these had made vague professions, intending to win for themselves the office they coveted and to give currency to the belief that no great changes would be made either in administration and in those who were holding public offices, yet, as has been seen, these promises were distrusted by even the most sanguine of their opponents.

Mr. King could not help feeling anxiety in reference to the effect of the change in policy which might take place, and to his own position as the representative of his country in England, where he held a conspicuous and respected as well as influential position, and where he had now a settled home and an enviable social standing. Would he have the confidence of those who were to direct his course in the troubled affairs of European rivalry and war, as hitherto he had been able to do among the most trying circumstances, and with manifest advantage to the country, or would he be removed from his field of usefulness by the appointment of another as Minister, or he himself be continued in office, yet hampered by instructions. He had for many years no doubt that he enjoyed the friendship as well as support of those in authority at home, and the consciousness that he often counselled wisely in the conduct of affairs, and that those with whom he had to deal abroad had learned to respect his straightforward presentation of his case in matters under discussion, his firm yet courteous demands for his country's rights, and his personal character and integrity.

The coalition of the Northern powers of Europe against England threatening her commerce and the maritime rights she claimed, the recent convention with France, with the uncertainty whether it would be ratified at home, the effect it might have upon England, as showing a partiality to her enemy, and interfering not only with existing relations, but with the negotiations which had been intrusted to him and were progressing slowly indeed but still under way with some prospect of success, and in which he had confidence that results good for his country would follow his careful management, and the possible removal from the field in

which they were to be prosecuted, may well have caused him anxiety and possibly a natural disappointment that his labors should be lost, or that another should reap the credit for what he justly felt was his due. Though he had no doubts of what might be his duty, he had of the policy that, if retained abroad, he might be called upon to advocate, judging from the antecedents of those who were certainly coming into power.

J. McHenry to R. King.

2 January, 1801.

It is now officially ascertained that Mess. Jefferson & Burr have each 73 votes for President & Vice-President. Mr. Adams 65 & Genl. Pinckney 64, consequently that the House of Representatives must decide between Mr. Jefferson & Mr. Burr.

Seneca, or somebody for him, observes: "Whatever happens, think that it ought to happen, and cast no reproach upon nature." I cast no reproach upon nature; but I sincerely wish Mr. Adams had taken the advice of his best friends, who counselled against sending the last mission to France, and had not made incurable inroads on the federal party, by taking a course which has lost to him the Presidency, and led to his utter debasement. Where is all this to end? If the House of Representatives should choose Mr. Jefferson we undoubtedly have to apprehend a change in some most essential points of our Government, and great national interests. If Mr. Burr succeeds, we may flatter ourselves that he will not suffer the Executive power to be frittered into insignificance; but can we promise ourselves, that he will not continue to seek and depend upon his own party, for support? These are problems we must leave to time to solve.

Genl. Saml. Smith, who is extremely anxious for the election of Mr. Jefferson, has drawn a letter from Mr. Burr, dated the 16 Decr. from which he has published the following extract, on the 27 Decr. ulto.: "It is highly improbable that I shall have an equal number of votes with Mr. Jefferson; but if such should be the result, every man who knows me ought to know, that I would utterly disclaim all competition. Be assured that the federal party

can entertain no wish for such an exchange. As to my friends, they would dishonour my views and insult my feelings, by a suspicion that I would submit to be instrumental in counteracting the wishes and expectation of the United States, and I now constitute you my proxy to declare these sentiments if the occasion shall require."

Some of our Federalists who have been here on a Christmas visit, seemed determined to run Burr notwithstanding this letter. They do not consider that in it he has committed himself, not to accept of the office of President, if elected by the House of Representatives. They think they understand Burr, and that he will not be very angry at being aided by the Federalists, to outwit the Jeffersonians. The fact is, the opposition are in the most violent state of apprehension lest Mr. Jefferson should not be chosen. The calculation at the Seat of Government now is : N. Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, South Carolina in favor of Burr, Vermont & Maryland divided. This leaves but 8 States to vote for Jefferson and the probability is that N. Jersey will be for Burr. If so it makes seven for Burr & seven for Jefferson and two divided.

Understand that the democrats in Congress are in a rage for having acted with good faith, that they swear they will never do it again and mutually criminate each other for having done so now ; each declaring if they had not had full confidence in the Treachery of the others they would have been Treacherous themselves, and not acted as they promised to act at Philadelphia last winter viz : to give equal votes for Jefferson and Burr.

Rhode Island it is understood gave Mr. Adams four votes and Genl. Pinckney but three votes. I lament this defection & the more so because the Electors were all federalists.

The federalists in the other States kept good faith. Genl. Pinckney acted nobly. He could have secured the 8 votes of S. Carolina for himself but because he could not obtain as many for Mr. Adams they were refused.

The convention lately entered into with France is before the Senate. Is it liked ? No. As to it's fate ; some think it will be rejected ; others that it will be accepted with modifications and exceptions ; no one that it will be ratified as it is.

Mr. Dexter was nominated on the 30th ulto. Secretary of the

Treasury in the Room of Oliver Wolcott Esqr. resigned. I do not learn who is to be Secretary of War, in the room of Mr. Dexter; and I am at a loss to comprehend the motive which may have induced the President to make this nomination, or those which can weigh with Mr. Dexter to change his Situation for two months.

Your faithful & obliged Humble Servt.

JAMES MCHENRY.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 96.

LONDON, Jany. 3, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

The annexed Paper is the copy of a Note which I have received from Lord Grenville, announcing the alteration of the King's Style and Title in consequence of the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

LORD GRENVILLE TO RUFUS KING, ESQ.

The undersigned principal Secretary of State for foreign Affairs has received the King's commands to inform Mr. King that his Majesty has thought proper in consequence of the Union of this Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to make an alteration in His Majesty's Stile and Title, and that henceforth the Stile and Title appertaining to the Imperial Crown of Great Britain and Ireland will be expressed in the Latin language by the words

"Georgius Tertius Dei gratiâ Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor," &c. &c. &c.

and in the English language by the words

"George the Third by the grace of God of the United King-
"doms of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith," &c. &c. &c.

The undersigned requests Mr. King to communicate this alteration to his Government in order that the Ministers of the United States may be apprized of the form in which all letters to the King are hereafter to be addressed.

The undersigned requests Mr. King to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

DOWNING STREET, January 1, 1801.

R. KING TO THE RT. HON. LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, January 5, 1801.

The undersigned, Minister Plenipotentiary, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Grenville's Note of the 1st instant, announcing the alteration in the Style and Title of his Britannic Majesty in consequence of the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and agreeably to his Lordship's request has transmitted a copy of the Note to his Government.

The undersigned requests Lord Grenville to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, Jany. 5, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Letters received here on Saturday (the 3d) from the City of Washington, mention the nomination of Mr. *Dexter* to be secretary of the Treasury.—The President has nominated Mr. Jay to be Chief Justice in the room of Judge Ellsworth. The Senate of course ratified the nomination; but the P. as well as every body else must know that Mr. Jay will not accept the office. He formally announced to the Legislature of New York his determination to retire from public life, on account of his advanced age and *infirmities*. Under such circumstances, nobody but Mr. A. would have made the nomination without consulting Mr. Jay. Until I came to Philadelphia I was uncertain whether

Mr. Ellsworth was in Europe, or had come home with Governor Davie. I find he went from France to England. You will learn from him the motives which induced him and his colleagues to make *such* a convention with France ; it is reprobated by both parties, and if ratified, it will be with exceptions ; and a *conditional* ratification will put it in the power of France to abandon the whole ; and after all the delay and expence of the negotiation, (to say nothing of the infinite mischief resulting from the mission in the U. S.) we shall be left exposed to all the evils which the envoys hoped to avoid, by finishing it before a general peace took place in Europe.—Thus the issue of this negotiation appears to be as unfortunate as its instigation was unwise.

It is now *ascertained*, that Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr have an equal number of votes each, 73 ; and the devoted friends of the former are alarmed lest the federalists should prefer the latter ; or by an equal division of the states in the house of representatives, prevent any choice. This would place the Executive Power in the hands of the President of the Senate for one year, and give the federalists a new chance to elect a federal President. From all that I hear, I am rather inclined to think Mr. Burr will be preferred. Fewer changes in office will then be necessary. General Marshall may then remain in the department of state ; but if Mr. Jefferson be chosen, Mr. Marshall will retire. Mr. Dexter, I think, will remain in office, whoever may be President : Some men possess a happy temper of accommodation. I *conjecture* that General Wilkinson will be appointed Secretary of War, and General Samuel Smith of Baltimore Secretary of the Navy. Smith & Burr are now in this city—doubtless *by concert.*—There are said to be many ingenious reasons why the federalists at Washington are inclined to prefer Mr. Burr. I am not informed of them ; but besides the one above intimated, they probably suppose that the federal interests will not be so *systematically* opposed under Mr. B. as under Mr. J. Perhaps this may be *previously understood.* In case of a war with any European power, there can be no doubt which of the two would conduct it with most ability and energy.

The President, I am told, is in a state of deep dejection ; His feelings are not to be envied. To *his* UNADVISED (to use a mild term) *measures* are traced the evils with which the whole of

our country is now perplexed & depressed. And many discerning federalists, at least *doubted*, which was most to be deprecated, —his re-election, or Mr. Jefferson's elevation to the Presidency.

As. Mr. Jay will certainly refuse the Chief Justiceship, I presume Judge Patterson will be appointed; and his vacancy, I am disposed to think, will be filled either from N. York or Pennsylvania. If from the former, perhaps by Judge Lawrance.

I am very sincerely yours,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

J. LAWRANCE TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Jany. 12, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

Our political affairs have undergone a change. It is very well ascertained that Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr, have an equal Number of votes, and both a Majority, a case contemplated by the Constitution; but it is yet uncertain who will be elected by the House of Representatives voting by States, if either will be. Some Persons conjecture we shall be left without a President; the Constitution, in case a Majority is not obtained, not being provisional—an Event much to be regretted, if it should occur—but I hope it will not, and of the two Persons Mr. Jefferson may be chosen. Our latest intelligence from the City of Washington, makes it very problematical, whether the Convention with France will be ratified, except conditionally, and with a clause limiting its duration. The policy of this measure is by some of our sensible Men much questioned. The general wish, I believe, here is, that it should be taken as it is, however I am induced to believe, from what I have heard, that it will not be. What change in sentiment, the late Intelligence from Europe may occasion at Washington, or whether it will occasion any, is now only Conjecture; but it may, probably, render a decision on it, rather more delicate than it was—I hope all will go well, although I fear our tranquillity may be hazarded.

The Scarcity of Grain in England has had an Effect on our Prices here. Our Agricultural Interest will feel the benefit of it, and I hope will improve the Circumstance more to their benefit,

than was done some years since, when the Prices were rather higher.

It is not improbable our political changes may bring you home again. I know not whether they will, but should that be the Case, you will have here a very cordial reception from your Friends. I rank myself as one of the number, and I should be sorry to take my Departure from hence, without again having the pleasure of seeing you.

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN LAWRANCE.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 97.

LONDON, Jany. 15, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

It was pretty generally believed to be probable the superiority, and farther successes of the French arms have obliged the Emperor to demand a new armistice, which has been granted upon his engagement to treat separately for the conclusion of Peace with France. Accordingly by a recent message of the First Consul to the Legislative Body, the terms of Peace will not be rendered more burthensome upon Austria, than would have been executed before the last resumption of Hostilities.

As France gives the Law to her enemy, the war of the continent seems about to be closed, and according to every appearance will be followed by a maritime war between England single handed on one side, for Turkey and Portugal cannot be of much importance on whatever side they may be engaged, against the rest of Europe on the other. It is hoped that Prussia will not join the Confederacy, which has at length been concluded between Denmark, Sweden, & Russia. England is resolved to resist with all her means the Pretensions of the Confederates ; and so far as it is yet practicable to discover the public sentiment upon the Question, the Government will receive all the support it can expect from every Quarter of the Nation. An order of Council was yesterday passed, laying an embargo upon all Russian, Swed-

ish, and Danish vessels in the Ports of Great Britain and Ireland, and war with these powers appears unavoidable ; perhaps the die is already cast.

This intelligence, Sir, is the fruitful source of important reflections with regard to the real interest and true policy of the United States. It is fortunate that our disagreement with France is settled ; and not only the justice of our demands but the present posture of Europe ought to have their proper influence in favour of a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of our affairs with this Country ; but that this result may be expected is more than I can engage, tho' I do not yet perceive that it is to be despaired of.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 98.

LONDON, Jany. 17, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

I wish I could send you a more satisfactory account of the Negotiation with this Government with which I am charged ; some time ago Lord Grenville informed me that on account of his numerous and pressing engagements, he should be obliged to employ some Person to discuss with me the arrangement respecting the 6th article which I had proposed, and after mentioning Mr. Anstey, one of the Commissioners under the 7th article, asked me if I had any objection to confer with him ; adding that although it had occurred to him that any definite article might better be concluded between himself and me, if I had any scruple in holding the preliminary discussions with Mr. Anstey, he would give him a commission not only to treat, but to sign. As I preferred that the final descision of the business should remain with Lord Grenville, I signified my acquiescence in the course he had suggested, and several papers have been exchanged between Mr. Anstey and me ; though I cannot yet determine what may be the issue of our discussions, I think I shall be able in a short time to ascertain the expectations of this government. Shd. a satisfactory conclusion become unattainable in the course in which we are

now engaged, it will be my duty to terminate the conference upon the proposition I have made, and insist upon the justness and propriety of the explanatory articles we have before demanded.

In consequence of late letters from Tunis, I shall cause the whole of the articles contained in the List of Presents to that Regency to be prepared and sent to the Consul Mr. Eaton. Funds must be remitted for this Purpose; to guard against accidents, I shall order the goods to be insured. The annexed Note of Lord Grenville requires no commentary.

With perfect Respect & Esteem,

RUFUS KING.

Downing Street, Jany. 11, 1801.

Lord Grenville presents his compliments to Mr. King; and has the honour to send him inclosed the extract of a dispatch which he has received from his excellency, the Earl of Elgin, his Majesty's embassador at Constantinople.

Extract of dispatch from his Excellency the Earl of Elgin to Lord Grenville, dated Constantinople, November 29, 1800:

"A few days ago a Frigate anchored in this Harbour under American colours, and having at her main the Algerine Flag. She proved to be 'The George Washington' American Frigate, commanded by Capt. Bainbridge, and having on board the Ambassador and Presents from the Dey of Algiers.

"Nothing material passed on the arrival of the ship, although the appearance of the first American Vessel that had ever been seen on these seas, and the neglect of Captain Bainbridge to attend to the ceremonial observ'd by all foreign Powers in entering the Dardanelles has created a good deal of surmise; when however this came to the knowledge of the Captain, he called upon me, and having explained the accidental circumstances that had led to this voyage, he stated that he was both unapprized of the necessity of his having the protection of a foreign Resident Minister at the Porte, and unprepared to apply in a proper way to any one here; but from his belief that the United States were in perfect amity with Great Britain, and from his hearty desire that it might be so, he begged leave to put himself under the protection of the King's Embassador.

"Your Lordship will recollect the conversations which I was authorized to hold with Mr. Rufus King previous to my leaving England, and the recommendation I received from him with your knowledge in favour of the interests of America with Turkey. . . . I further have been informed by his Majesty's Consul at Algiers that this Frigate has come here in some degree to accommodate Lord Keith. Under these circumstances I shall not hesitate to accept Captain Bainbridge's proposal. In the meanwhile Capitan Pasha charged Mr. with requesting Captain Bainbridge in my name to take down the Algerine Flag. The Captain was called to a meeting when he readily complied with his demand, and obtained very civilly the permission to substitute the American Pendant."

RICHARD PETERS TO R. KING.

Writing to Rufus King about the capture of some of Stephen Girard's vessels * and his claim to protection as one domiciliated in the United States, etc., Mr. Peters says about public affairs:

PHILADELPHIA, Jany. 18, 1801.

You will have better information than I can give you relative to the state of Parties and Politics here. I know enough to disgust me and I do not wish to transfer any of my Désagrémens over the Atlantic. 'Tis heavy with us poor *Feds*. We may rise like Antæus after touching the Earth. We are now in the Dirt, if that is a step to rising. Whether Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Burr will be the President, no mortal can now tell. The Federalists in Congress incline to the latter. *Why*, I cannot tell unless it be on the principle of the man who had to choose a wife, either one or the other, of a tall or short woman; and he took the short one on the old adage, *of two evils choose the least.* The Federal members voting in States, have not strength to choose, tho' they may prevent a choice. But I cannot believe they will take the responsibility of leaving the Government without an Executive.

I am with very sincere esteem &c.

RICHARD PETERS.

* See R. K.'s letter to Lord Hawkesbury, March 6, p. 397.

J. Hale to R. King.

Boston, 21 Jany. 1801.

Dear Sir:

By a line from Mason last mail I am informed that our Senate have rejected the second & third articles of the French treaty by a majority of sixteen to eleven; that they have unanimously determined to have a clause inserted which shall prevent any possibility of interference with the British treaty; & that it will be limited in its duration to ten years or two years after the war; & that with these alterations it will be ratified.

It thus seems to be the sense of the Senate to abandon all claims for indemnity and also to presevere in the abandonment of former treaties without aiming at any after negotiations upon these subjects, and to consent to this famous treaty as a mere commercial arrangement for the sake of peace with the wonderful French nation.

It has been suggested that the conduct & feelings of some gentlemen lately in France bear a little analogy to those of Mr. Gerry when there. A strange quality indeed there must be in the air of Paris to un-tone the nervous system. By a strange fatality, our negotiations there have at all times shown the least firmness where a man with the true feelings of a man would have at least affected the most. The battle of Marengo instead of obviously lowering ought to have seemingly elevated the crests of our Envoys. Every day tells me not to be too lavish in my respect for many men viewed as most respectable; especially our old seventy-five men grow out of fashion with me. Most of these have too much exclusive knowledge & yet very few indeed of them know how to profit of their many years' experience.

Whether Jefferson or Burr will be our next President depends upon the suffrages of our House of Representatives. I am inclined to think B's chance about equal to the other. He has my voice because I consider his opposition hitherto to have arisen from ambitious motives. His talents & information preclude the possibility of his being considered as honest in his politics as Mr. Jefferson.

Your friend & most obed. servt.

J. Hale.

Mr. J. Turnbull, of the house of J. Turnbull & Co. at Gibraltar, wrote on January 17th to Mr. King, offering their services in case of the absence or indisposition of the American Consul, Mr. Gravino, to citizens of the United States who might need them, Mr. Gravino himself being satisfied that this would be personally agreeable to him. To this Mr. King answered in a letter addressed to J. Turnbull & Co., acknowledging "this proof of the friendly and obliging disposition . . . of a house so long established and extensively known and respected throughout the Mediterranean," and requesting their good offices in favor of such of his countrymen as might ask for them. Writing afterwards, on March 23d, Messrs. Turnbull & Co., expressing their thanks to Mr. King for his good opinion of them, say:

"The American Trade to this quarter, within these few years last past has increased most surprisingly, and the importations and the number of vessels that weekly arrive and call in on the passage to and from the Mediterranean are very considerable. It will give us, you may depend, the utmost pleasure to be useful to them."

CHAPTER XXVII.

King to Secretary of State—England notifies Members of the Northern Confederacy that she would use all her Resources in Defence of her Rights—If Prussia joins she is cut off from the Continent—Public Opinion disturbed in England—Present Moment favorable for a satisfactory Settlement of United States Affairs—Difficulties, Indecision and Delay by Ministers—Urges Reforms in Admiralty Courts, and Settlement of Questions under 6th Article—W. Wilberforce to King—Confidence in him—King to Pickering—England excluded from the Continent—America will adhere to her old Maxims—Cabot to King—Federalists prefer Burr—Hope that King will not come Home—Northern Coalition unfavorable to Neutrals—King to Bainbridge, relative to the Misunderstanding at Constantinople—King to Stoddard—Same Subject—Bainbridge to King—Report of the Case—King to Truxton—Lloyd's Gift of Plate to him—King to Troup—News of Jefferson's Election—Hopes for the Best—Northern Confederation—King to Secretary of State—Tenor of the Northern Confederacy not exactly known—Effect on Hanover—League a hostile Aggression to be resisted with Force by England—Conference with Lord Grenville—If Blockade of the Baltic, the United States would claim to enjoy her Rights of Trade—Lord Grenville said a Relaxation with Reference to the United States might be agreed to—Interruption of Trade through New Orleans—Change in English Ministry—Pitt and Colleagues have resigned on Question of the Emancipation of the Catholics—Duke of Portland First Lord of the Treasury—Thought a Proposal will be made to France to treat for Peace—Disagreement among Northern Confederacy—Russia's Intrigues—King to Lord Grenville—Regrets his Resignation, both on public and private Grounds—Had hoped to settle with him the Questions under Discussion between the Governments—Lord Grenville to R. King.

R. King to Secretary of State.

No. 99.

London, Jan'y 22, 1801.

Dear Sir:

In the late conferences which the Envoys of Denmark and Sweden have held with Lord Grenville relative to the Northern Confederacy, he informed them, that after giving to the subject that deliberate and full examination which its importance

required, England could not avoid considering the measure as an aggression upon those Maritime Rights which she had immemorially claimed, which have been acknowledged by all Europe, and which she could not relinquish without at the same time giving up the use of those means upon which her security as a Nation chiefly depended; that she had therefore resolved to call forth the whole Resources of her People in the defence of Rights which belonged to her by indisputable Title and were moreover essential to her safety and independence.

As there is little probability that what has been concluded will be altered, it daily appears more certain that war is unavoidable between this Country and the three Northern Powers. It is said that Prussia has acceded to the League upon certain conditions; not being a maritime Power she is to employ arguments instead of arms in support of it. A Peace with France is necessary to the existence of the Austrian Monarchy. All Italy must receive the Law, and Portugal will no longer be able to refuse it. Should Prussia be considered as having entered into the Confederacy, England will be shut out of every Part of Europe from the extreme North to the Territory of the Turk in the South. Our Merchants from the spirit of enterprise with which they prosecute their commerce will be likely to send their ships to the Baltic in greater numbers than formerly. But I am not sure that this Country, which is understood to have on hand of the various sorts of naval Stores procured from the North sufficient for two years' consumption, may not institute a Blockade at the entrance of the Baltic Sea, in which case all trade in that quarter will be cut off. This is mere conjecture; but, after what we have heretofore witnessed, it is by no means improbable.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 100.

LONDON, Jan'y 23, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

The situation of this Country is replete with Difficulties in which the Merchants and Underwriters are deeply affected by the embarrassments and losses proceeding from the interruption of

Trade, and fearful to engage in new adventures to any part of Europe, some of the Manufacturers are beginning to complain, and the whole of that influential body may be expected to follow the example of those of Leeds, should the present difficulties, according to every appearance, increase and extend themselves. The Funds continue falling, and the public opinion is manifestly disturbed and unstable.

The United Parliament has just met, and it will be attempted, without doubt, to hold forth such sentiments as shall be calculated to rouse the national courage and dispel those apprehensions which are so contagious, and at the same time so dangerous in populous countries.

I have not been unmindful that the moment is favorable to a fair and satisfactory Settlement of our affairs, and by all the means in my power have endeavoured to hasten it. But those who have had an opportunity of studying the character of this Government must know that one of its greatest vices is indecision and delay; measures are therefore often postponed to the last hour and then decided upon the casual impression of the moment. Whether my discussions with Mr. Anstey will attain a satisfactory termination is still uncertain: the business has nearly reached the stage, at which this point must be decided, and I shall lose no time in communicating the result.

In repeated conferences and notes I have urged the necessity of a reform in the Vice-admiralty Courts of the West Indies, as the best means of putting a stop to the depredations upon our commerce. This measure has at length been decided upon, and orders were yesterday despatched to the West Indies, suppressing all the Vice-admiralty Courts, except two, one at Jamaica, another in the Windward Islands. It is proposed to establish permanent salaries for these two courts, and to appoint men of learning and ability to preside in them. Captain Pellew of the Cleopatra, who has vexed our trade upon our own coast during the summer, has upon my request been recalled and neither he nor Captain Cochran will hereafter be employed on that Station.

Some weeks ago I delivered to Lord Grenville a Draught of three articles to be concluded at the same time with the arrangement respecting the 6th article; the first defining with greater precision the articles of naval Stores; the second, mutually

agreeing that no seaman or other person should be impressed or taken upon the high seas, by one party out of the merchant vessels of the other; the third, that the King should release all claim to the Maryland Bank Stock, and that immediate measures should be taken to transfer it to that State. I cannot determine what will be ultimately decided respecting them. The 1st and the 3rd will probably be agreed to, provided we make a settlement respecting the 6th article; the second is of the greatest importance and for that as well as other reasons will meet with the most difficulty.

I shall write to you again in a few days.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

W. WILBERFORCE TO R. KING.

PALACE YD., Saty., Jany. 24. 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

I wish much for the pleasure & may witht. compliment say the Benefit of a little more conversation with you, & time being a rare article with me I take the liberty of sendg. previously to ask if it will be quite convent. to you to allow me to call on you to-day. I love frankness so much, except where it is requisite to resort to ceremony in order to keep those at a distance whom we don't wish to approach, that I will add, that if you happened to be disengaged & have no company, I shd. be happy to partake of your family dinner, if you are not a very late man, my Health rendering an early dinner Hour indispensable to me. In truth, my dear sir, besides one point of importance on which I wish to have some conversation with you, I am extremely desirous of profiting from that kind confidence you are disposed to repose in me. I hope I need not assure you on the word of a gentleman, or what I esteem a much more sacred pledge, on the truth of a Christian, that any obligation of secresy which you impose on me shall be scrupulously maintain'd; and the Sentiment I express'd the other day of a sense of the Benefit of conferring with any one who was an observant & impartial Bystander, was not a hasty effusion but the result of deliberate Reflection.

I wish to act rightly & to pursue truth & Rectitude & my Country's Happiness with Earnestness, & I therefore eagerly court the opportunity of availing myself of the Benefit of your Intelligence & Experience. Excuse this effusion; it is pour'd forth with sincerity & the Effect of that Esteem, Regard & full confidence with which I am, my dear Sir,

Your faithful Servt.

W. WILBERFORCE.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.

LONDON, Jany. 26, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

. . . You will be surprised at the changes which the Continent has exhibited within the course of a few months. The armed neutrality is resumed in the North. France is the soul of this measure, and according to present appearances England will be excluded from every part of Europe, from the Extreme North to the Regions of the Turk. All Italy must obey and Portugal can no longer refuse the law.

America will be courted to unite in the League, but notwithstanding the issue of the Election, which we believe to be in favor of Mr. Jefferson, I believe and say to all who ask my Opinion, & the subject is one of earnest enquiry, that we shall adhere to the maxims upon which we have hitherto acted and form no political connexions with any of the powers of Europe. Our Ships are already in great demand &, be the result what it may, we are sure of advantage by adhering to an impartial neutrality.

Very truly and sincerely &c

RUFUS KING.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

January 28, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

Jefferson & Burr have each 73 votes & it is, as you well know, for the house to decide which shall be first: the Federalists in

general are for Burr & great efforts are making to secure his preference in the house. I think however they will not succeed & I think they ought not *unless Burr will* & *Jefferson will not* previously engage to uphold essentially the existing policy.

We every day hear speculations upon the probable course of the new administration. It is generally thought *here* that Mr. King will certainly come home. This is extremely regretted & especially by the best men. It seems as if the North as well as South of Europe is at length to be employed in the service of France. I am mortified to see the folly of the Neutral Powers in swallowing the baits held out to them without examining them. It is to my mind perfectly clear that the doctrine of "Free Ships make Free Goods" is the most pernicious to Neutrals that cou'd be devised. Neutrals necessarily derive great pecuniary advantages from the universal insecurity of Belligerent property on the Seas: but let this property be allowed the protection of a Neutral Flag and those advantages are at an end. The profit to Neutrals of merely *carrying* the goods of the Belligerent is contemptible & wou'd be overbalanced at the close of every war by the great excess of shipping on hand which wou'd be of little or no value—the profit of Neutrals does not arise from *carrying* the property of Belligerents but it arises from the opportunity which war produces of selling extremely dear & buying extremely cheap—that is of trading where the market is under supplied with what they sell & overstocked with what they buy. You have been so accustomed to pursue inquiries on these subjects that I shou'd save you very little trouble of investigation by filling my paper with examples to prove the justness of my opinion, but I may attempt in the newspapers to display ideas which are of some importance to be understood by our people.

The Treaty or Convention is terribly mauled in our Senate: it will not pass without express conditions to save existing Treaties, & probably some of the articles will be totally rejected & others modified.

Yours faithfully

G. C.

R. KING TO W. BAINBRIDGE, ESQ.

LONDON, Jany. 30, 1801.

SIR:

It is only a few days since I received your Letter dated at Constantinople the 20th of November last; the inclosure will be forwarded by the first opportunity to the Secretary of the Navy.

As your being obliged to go to Constantinople is understood to have been occasioned by the omission of Lord Keith to furnish a suitable ship for the conveyance of the Algerine Ambassador, I cannot doubt that Lord Elgin has employed his influence not only to facilitate your return but that he will do what may be in his power to prevent any dissatisfaction or misunderstanding on the part of the Bey of Algiers, should the detention of his Ambassador oblige you in obedience to your orders to leave him at Constantinople.

I shall make an immediate representation to this Government upon this subject, in expectation that it will make use of its influence as well at Constantinople as at Algiers, to prevent any embarrassments that may be apprehended, should you, in consequence of the uncertain duration of the detention of the Algerine Ambassador, have left Constantinople without him. Under such circumstances it is my opinion that you should obey your orders and leave him behind.

A convention was concluded between the U. S. and France in the beginning of October, and when ratified, of which there is in my opinion no doubt, it will restore the former friendship and commercial intercourse between the two countries.

I have the honour to be with great respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO BENJAMIN STODDART, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

LONDON, Feb. 3, 1801.

SIR:

I have the honour to forward a letter, which I lately received from Captain Bainbridge for you, and to annex for your information copies of a letter from him to me and of my answer. Having applied to this Government as I informed Captain Bainbridge I should do, I have received assurances that its influences should

be employed as well to facilitate, the departure of the Frigate from Constantinople, if she had not sailed, as to prevent any embarrassment with Algiers, should the Dey's Ambassador be left behind. Lord Elgin will be able to assist us at Constantinople; but I am not sure that England has at this moment much influence at Algiers.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

W. BAINBRIDGE TO R. KING.

ON BOARD THE UNITED STATES SHIP OF WAR GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE PORT OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 20th November, 1800.

SIR:

The United States Frigate George Washington under my command, in August last was sent by the Government with part of the amount of stipulations due the Regency of Algiers in October; when ready to sail from there to execute the orders of the President of the United States I was obliged by an arbitrary demand from the Dey of Algiers to carry his Ambassador and presents to the Grand Signor at Constantinople. There was no other alternative but war with that Regency.

Inclosed you will see a Letter from the Secretary of the Navy, by which you can see my present situation.

I will thank you for your advice relative to a compliance of the detention of the Frigate in this Port, and also to inform me whether our Envoys have negotiated a Treaty of Peace with the Republic of France.

I have the honour to be with great Respect &c.

WM. BAINBRIDGE.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

London, 3d Feb., 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Our last intelligence puts it out of doubt that J & B are elected P & V. P. While the canvass was going on, each side made use of arguments addressed to the fears as well as to the understanding of the Public; & much exaggeration was employed. Now the Event is fixed, we become calm, and without effort convince

ourselves that the Evils in respect to the Great measures of the Govt. are not likely to happen.

A Day or two will decide the Part Prussia takes as one of the northern confederates, and consequently whether the Amity between her and this Country will be broken; in this case Hanover falls. The present condition of Europe will turn to our advantage unless we are blind to our best Interest.

Our ships alone will be employed between the Belligerents, and by an impartial neutrality our claim to better treatment from the Belligerents will be strengthened, and I am not without Hopes that the injustice practised towards us by a Rule common to fair and unfair neutrals will be lessened when we become, as we seem likely to be, the only neutral Power.

I think the West Indian Courts of Vice Admy. will be all abolished except two, one at Jamaica & another in one of the windward Islands. These it is proposed to put upon a footing which will engage able men to preside in them. I am now attacking the Halifax Court, whose late Decisions have been an outrage to all Notions of Justice.

Yours &c.

R. K.

RUFUS KING TO THOMAS TRUXTON, ESQ.

LONDON, Feb. 4, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

I have the pleasure of sending you annexed copies of a Letter which I sometime ago received from the Master of Lloyd's Coffee House and of my answer: the Piece of Plate referred to in that correspondence, will be delivered to the particular care of the Master of the Ship Two Friends which will sail in a day or two for New York.

As no one has been more persuaded of the importance of our little navy, nor more gratified by its conduct, in every instance in which its gallantry has opportunity to show itself, I beg you to be assured that no person could receive greater satisfaction than I do, in transmitting to you this Suffrage in its favour from a nation, familiar with Naval Talents and capable of appreciating the merit it so honourably applauds.

With great Respect and Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 1. 3d Series.

LONDON, Feby. 6, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

According to the last French Papers the Treaty of Peace has been signed between France and Austria. No mails have been received from Hamburgh since the news of the Embargo upon the Russian, Danish and Swedish ships reached the continent; the exact tenor of the Northern Confederacy is not yet known; Prussia, it is understood, has acceded to it. In the League of 1780, the Confederates engaged to make common cause against the Belligerent Power, by which any of them should be aggrieved: if the new Confederacy contain a similar article, and the accession of Prussia have been unconditional, the Embargo imposed by England is a casus fœderis; Prussia must perform her engagements. England will apply to her the same treatment as to the other confederates, and she will take possession of Hanover, and exclude the English from the Elbe and the Weser.

Among the surmises which circulate in the present moment of uncertainty, one which is not the least curious, nor most improbable, shows a division of the Cabinet respecting Hanover; to preserve which against the King of Prussia, it is said to have been proposed that the Elector should join the Northern League at the risque of a misunderstanding with the King of Great Britain!

You will perceive by the King's speech, as well as by the addresses of the two Houses of Parliament, that the Nation has determined to refer the Question to the issue of the Sword. "It must now be decided," said Lord Grenville in the House of Peers, "it cannot be postponed to a future day; we should not now have to discuss the Question, had it been met with firmness on a former occasion." In the note delivered to the Envoys of Denmark and Sweden, when the Embargo was imposed, the League is considered as an hostile aggression upon the rights of England, which, it is declared, she will repel with force. If I can obtain a Copy of this Note, which I have seen, I will send it by this opportunity.

With all this apparent Union and Firmness, the Government as well as the Country will be deeply affected, should its intercourse

with the North of Europe be entirely cut off, as it will be, if the Elbe and the Ports of Hanover are closed.

If Prussia take no such part in the League, as shall engage her in the war, such are the interior communications by the canals and Rivers of Poland, that the Hemp and Duck of Russia will find a market at Dantzik, and our trade to the Baltic, in consequence of our Treaty with Prussia, will be more secure in her Ports than it would be in those of Russia.

Within a few days I have had a conference with Lord Grenville, for the purpose of stating to him our dependence upon the Baltic for a supply of Iron, Hemp, and Sail cloth for the equipment of our ships, public as well as private; and that in the event of a Blockade of the Sound, we must claim to enjoy unmolested a direct trade between the United States and the Ports of the Baltic for the purpose of obtaining these indispensable supplies. I took occasion at the same time to mention that our intercourse with France and its Dominions would be revived in consequence of our late reconciliation: and that our trade to the French Territories, as in every other Quarter, would become more extensive and considerable, should the Northern Confederacy terminate in War; that we should expect that new and special orders should be given to the British Cruizers to exercise the Rights with the greatest moderation; and that our Trade should meet with a treatment corresponding to the impartiality with which it has been carried on.

Lord Grenville, tho' he gave no explicit answer to the claim of an uninterrupted trade with the Baltic in the case which was supposed, estimated that should the Blockade take place, a relaxation to this extent, and for the purpose I had stated, might be agreed to; upon this point he would confer with his colleagues should it become necessary.

Upon the subject of our Trade with France and other countries with which England might be at war, he could assure me that they should be disposed to treat the American Flag, which would perhaps be the only Neutral one, with all the moderation consistent with the preservation of those Rights, upon the upholding of which her National safety depended.

I alluded to the Reform of the Vice-admiralty Courts; he told me the measure was in train; I complained of the vexation we

had experienced, and especially of late, from the decisions of the Vice-admiralty Court at Halifax, and hinted that should it not be suppressed, its reform might become more necessary in consequence of the reform of the West India courts. Lord Grenville admitted the justice of this observation, and I have reason to believe that this court will be put upon a better footing than it heretofore has been.

I represented the peculiar situation of New Orleans, which, though a Spanish Port, is also the Depository of the increasing commerce between the people of our Western States with those of the States upon the shores of the Atlantic ; and after explaining the nature and importance of this Trade, and the pretences upon which it has been interrupted, I proposed that it should be agreed that no article bona fide American property, and destined for New Orleans, should be deemed contraband. Lord Grenville replied that he would enquire whether New Orleans was a place where Spanish Privateers were equipped ; adding in case it was not, that he did not perceive any material objection to the Proposal. I shall repeat my applications upon these points, and endeavour to expedite and obtain a satisfactory decision concerning them.

Relative to the 6th article, I can add nothing to my last, except that I made it the subject of a very free and full discussion with Lord Grenville ; and I think it must be brought to a point in the course of four or six weeks.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 2.

LONDON, Feby. 9, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

The delay which occurred in the delivery of the King's Speech, after the assembling of Parliament, occasioned a variety of suspicions, that the Cabinet was divided in respect to the opinions to be inserted in that Discourse. The expediency of an immediate and direct overture to France and the political Emancipation of

the Catholics in Ireland, were the points upon which the King and his principal Ministers were supposed to be at variance. Neither the Speech, nor the debate which followed, afforded any satisfaction upon this subject, and the public curiosity continued to be excited by successive rumours of a change in the Ministry, until yesterday, when it became public that a change had actually taken place. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, Lord Grenville & Lord Spencer have resigned their places (upon being out-voted in the Cabinet, as is said, upon the Question of the Emancipation of the Catholics, to which they were pledged as a condition of the Union with Ireland) and a new Ministry under the Duke of Portland as First Lord of the Treasury is forming, and will be composed, as is understood, exclusively of the Friends of the Ministers who have resigned, not a single person of the opposition being talked of as likely to be brought into office.

Mr. Addington, the Speaker, succeeds his particular friend Mr. Pitt as Chancellor of the Exchequer, with an engagement, as is given out, on the part of Mr. Pitt and his Associates to support him in the House of Commons.

It is not positively known who is to be Secretary of State for the Foreign and Home Departments; so far as public opinion has as yet manifested itself, it is by no means favourable to the ability or discretion of the new Ministry; it is thought that an immediate proposal will be made to France to treat for Peace; a measure that will certainly be popular.

No news is yet received from Prussia of a date posterior to the information of the Embargo on the Russian, Danish and Swedish ships having reached Berlin. Rumours are in circulation of jealousies & disagreements having already appeared in the North, and there is daily more reason to doubt, whether the maritime League, in appearance so formidable to England, will eventually be persisted in. The fluctuation of policy to which the principal Confederate is subject renders a permanent concert improbable. The Emperor of Russia seems to be entirely won by Buonaparte. The English Dispatch was returned unopened having been cut through and through by the Emperor with a Dagger; it is even said that the Emperor has entered into a Treaty by which he guarantees Egypt to France, receiving in return the guaranty of Malta; and the news just received from Constantinople adds

credit to this report by stating that the Russian Ambassador had in a most decisive manner required of the Turkish Government to refuse the aid of the English army under General Abercrombie, which had arrived at Rhodes for the purpose of uniting with the Turks in an effort to expel the French from Egypt.

With perfect Respect & Esteem,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

(*Private.*)

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Feby. 12, 1801.

MY LORD:

It being not any longer doubtful that your Lordship, with your principal Colleagues, has retired from Office, I cannot refrain from expressing my sincere concern that a measure of so much consequence should have been found unavoidable at a period still so momentous and critical. I am confident that your Lordship will give credit to the motives which lead to the expression of my regrets upon this occasion. I have too clearly seen the Danger to which the Principles which are the Foundation of all social Happiness have been exposed, not to have conceived the most favourable sentiments of the Persons, who have displayed so much firmness and perseverance in their Defence. Much has been done, but the Labour is unfinished, and a change in the face of the adversary may prove as dangerous in Politics, as it sometimes has done in war: the preservation of the confidence and civil discipline of a free people requires an uninterrupted and steady Administration; and the Duty of governing is never more arduous than when circumstances, such as at present exist, place the ill-disciplined and the ignorant in the power of the unprincipled and the ambitious. These are considerations which must have been carefully weighed before the Decision was adopted; and it is only to be deplored that the occasion, which it is hoped will not relate to the principles of which Great Britain has shewn herself the champion, could not have been deferred to a future and more convenient Day.

To these causes of public concern, I must add what is peculiar to myself, the unexpected disappointment of my hopes, that I should have been able, had your Lordship remained in office, to effect a satisfactory settlement of those points of disagreement the continuance of which can promise no possible advantage to either, and may prove injurious to the more important interests of both our Countries.

If, as there is reason to believe, a change have taken place in the Executive of the United States, tho' the general course of our affairs may suffer no material alteration, the new President will not be likely to go farther upon the subjects we have lately discussed than his Predecessor, to whose administration he is supposed to have been in opposition. I mention this observation merely to justify my solicitude upon a subject which I know to be important, and which I now fear, by remaining unsettled, may become the occasion of still farther misunderstandings between our respective Countries; but I need your Lordship's excuse for these reflections, so distant from the object of this Letter, which is to express . . . my unfeigned sorrow in reference to the great interests which depend upon the issue of the contest, that your Lordships and colleagues should withdraw from Office at a time when the firmness and vigour of experienced statesmen will with difficulty be able to save those invaluable Rights, for the preservation of which, for others as well as for herself, Great Britain has so nobly contended.

With the most respectful Attachment
and unalterable Esteem &c. &c.
RUFUS KING.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

CLEVELAND ROW, Feb'y 13, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am extremely sensible to the kindness of your letter, & I beg you to be assured that in the moment of quitting the public station which I have so long occupied, few things can be more gratifying to me than the hope of preserving the esteem of those for whom I entertain sincere and merited regard & attachment.

It would be a foolish affectation in me to disguise the concern I feel in being under the necessity (according to the public principle on which I have ever acted) of quitting the public service in a moment like the present, when the storm appears to augment, and yet when I am persuaded that perseverance in our former course will soon bring us into port. But there are duties which an honest man feels too sacred to be trifled with, or compromised; and if I have ever been able to render any service it has been by openness and plain dealing—qualities utterly inconsistent with the disguise or dereliction of one's opinions on great public questions.

I do not agree with you in the effect which this event is likely to produce as to the great questions which are still afloat in the world. Sudden impressions of alarm are easily received in such a country as this where they are propagated by newspapers and debates. But they are so easily effaced—and it would be to know very little of the present composition of the two Houses of Parliament to believe with the vulgar in the present moment, that there will be any want of great abilities to be called forth by great occasions.

Be assured that in all situations I shall always be anxious to deserve & to retain your esteem and friendship.

Ever, my Dear Sir, most truly and sincerely
Your obedient Humble Servt.
GRENVILLE.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Troup to King—Counting presidential Vote—Burr's Election probable—Hamilton profoundly chagrined—Democrats Disappointed—King to Secretary of State—New Ministers not yet in Office—Ratification of French Convention will benefit our Commerce—To Ld. Grenville relative to Taxes levied in Scotland against Major Lenox—They should not be levied—Pickering to King—Gives Action of the Senate on the Convention with France—Election of President still in Doubt—Suggests that Adams may be nominated for Governor of Massachusetts with Gerry—Hopes there is enough good Sense to reject both—Lawrance to King—No Election yet—King to Secretary of State—The King's Illness causes Delay in forming new Cabinet—Northern Confederacy still unsettled—England will resist it—Negotiations between Great Britain and United States at a Stand—Vice-Admiralty Courts to be re-formed—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Capture and Condemnation of S. Girard's Ship, on Ground he is a Frenchman—Denial of this—He is an American Citizen—Services in Yellow Fever in 1793, in Philadelphia—King to Secretary of State—The King's Sickness continues—No Business—King to Troup—Condition of Affairs in Europe—Lord St. Vincent promises to repress the West India Privateers—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Summary of Matters in Dispute—To T. Erskine—Impressment of Seamen—Suggests that neither Party shall impress on the high Seas—Erskine to King—Says he has sent his Letter to Lord St. Vincent—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Captures of American Vessels bound to an Enemy's Colony not according to the Law of Nations—Cause great Complaints—Demands a precise Instruction to Officers in West India Seas to put an End to this—King to G. Rose—Arbitrary and oppressive Conduct of Revenue Officers in the Port of London.

R. Troup to R. King.

New York, 12 Feby., 1801.

My dear Sir:

. . . Yesterday was the day appointed for counting the votes for Prest. and Vice Prest. We have yet no information of the result. The general opinion here is that Burr will ultimately be chosen. Upon the first ballot it is thought Jefferson will have all the democratical States, but as they are not sufficient to elect him,

the conjecture is that a second ballot will be taken and that in this event some of the Demos. will come over to vote for Burr, to prevent the election falling through. So that although it be uncertain who will be the man, yet there is considerable probability that Burr will be successful.

Hamilton is profoundly chagrined with this prospect! He has taken infinite pains to defeat Burr's election, but he believes in vain. So he has to procure the complete adoption of the French convention, which is at length ratified, excepting the 2d article, and with a limitation of 8 years to the whole instrument. . . . Hamilton declared that his influence with the federal party was wholly gone—that he could be no longer useful. He has a horrible opinion of Burr's principles and views, and thinks that his administration must fasten itself on the least respectable men belonging to both parties. He cannot bring himself to believe that the respectable men of either party will connect themselves with Burr. . . . All the leading demos. are cut to the quick with the idea of Burr's being President, with a very few exceptions. It is said that Madison has written to a member of Congress a strong and angry letter on this subject. The Clintonians here execrate Burr as President. . . .

The newspapers will show you a letter written by myself and others to Gov. Jay, and his answer. He is a decided advocate for Jefferson in preference to Burr. . . .

God bless you.

R. T.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 4.

LONDON, Feby 17, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Enclosed I send you a copy which I have just received of the Treaty of Peace between France and the Emperor, concluded at Luneville on the 9th instant.

We do not learn that the last mail has brought precise information of the decision of Prussia; the opinion gains strength that England will have to cope with all the maritime Powers leagued against her.

The new Ministers are not yet in Office ; as such of them as are members of the House of Commons must be re-elected, some time will be necessary for this object.. Mr. Pitt yesterday made his Loan for 28 millions for which he gives in three per cents., when at something under 5 per cent., a little more than 49 millions ; the terms are deemed favorable to Government. Perhaps the boldness with which the Bank lends its Paper to individuals, enabled the Government with less difficulty to borrow it.

The loss of the Danish and Swedish Flags has increased the demand for ours ; if our ships which will soon arrive with Flour bring accounts of the ratification of the Convention and restoration of commercial intercourse with France they will obtain immediate and profitable freights.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

SALEM, Feb. 17, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

In a letter to my son written since my arrival at this place, I mentioned the French Convention pending before the Senate ; but was obliged (not to miss a conveyance) to quit the subject abruptly. A committee of the Senate reported a resolution, for advising the P. to ratify the Convention, on condition that the 2d. & 3d. articles be expunged, the 6th modified by a provision that it should not operate against any existing treaties, and that a new article be added, limiting the duration of the convention to eight years. S. S. Mason moved to strike out all the conditions ; and they were stricken out, except the last, limiting the duration ! Then a question was taken on the remnant of the resolution, when the yeas & nays were as in the inclosed paper—16 for the treaty, 14 against it ; of course it is rejected. You will be surprised at *some* of the federal *yeas :* But I have correct information, that a certain influence was exerted from a quarter from which heretofore better things would have been expected. I have no doubt that S. D. [exter] was the agent to exercise this influence, at the desire of the P. that his mighty mission might not end in a nullity. It is suggested however, as a thing to be expected from the Democrats, that a reconsideration may be proposed, in order to ratify with conditions, rather than lose the entire treaty.

Mr. Marshall has been nominated, and I presume will be appointed Chief Justice. Mr. D. will then be "promoted" to the station originally in view when he accepted the War Office.

The choice of President remains in doubt. Mr. Jefferson has 8 states; and if one federal member of Maryland join the 4 antis of that state, he will be elected. But I have it from Theo. Parsons at Boston, that Pierrepont Edwards has written to Judge Reeve at Litchfield (who married Mr. Burr's sister)—assuring him, that the New York Electors had given one more vote for Mr. B. than Mr. J.—It seems, however, incredible, that a fact of this kind, if it existed, should so long have been kept secret.

Some gentlemen at Boston apprehend that Mr. Adams will be set up with Mr. Gerry, for Governor & Lieutenant governor of Massachusetts; and if chosen, no one doubts his readiness to accept the office. But if there be not good sense enough in Massachusetts to reject both those gentlemen, the people ought to suffer everything which folly and prejudice can produce. But I feel a confidence that their present excellent governor will be reelected.

I remain Dear Sir
Yr. faithful friend & servt.
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

J. LAWRANCE TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Feb. 18, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

The choice of President, by a Letter I have this Day received from Washington of the 13th Instant, was not then made. My Correspondent mentions that the House of Representatives had that day ballotted again, without being able to change a Vote, both parties seem'd obstinate and it was not easy to see who would first give way. Conjecture was busy on both sides and on both there was nothing but conjecture. More than thirty ballots had been taken without the least variation.

It is singular our Wise Men who made provision for the Choice, in case of two having a Majority, did not suppose that no choice might be made and provide for that Event, but it seems this was

overlooked; however I cannot believe we shall be without a Chief Magistrate, after the 3d of March, notwithstanding the obstinacy which prevailed on the 13th Instant.

In this State a Majority of the Council of appointments being antifederal, many new appointments, it is said, are in contemplation but at present they have stumbled at the Threshold. The Governor has claimed the right exclusively to nominate, and has exercised it in the Case of a Sheriff for the County of Dutchess. Eight nominations by him for that office have been rejected. If he persists which I believe from what I have heard, he will, he will probably disappoint the Expectants. Heretofore the Governor applied to the Legislature suggesting the propriety of a declaratory Act; but none passed. It was left to his own Interpretation, and he has given it, what I always supposed to be the proper one. The Agitations that those questions occasion will shortly all go off, and we shall settle down in our usual tranquillity. The Commonwealth must be saved. Whether we shall see you or not the present year, or the next I suppose is still doubtful—but whenever you come you will meet with a cordial reception.

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN LAWRANCE.

In answer to a letter from Rufus King to Lord Grenville, February 7, 1801, respecting certain taxes of inheritance assessed against Major Lenox in Scotland, agent for seamen in London, asking a remission of the taxes, Lord Grenville wrote a note on the 17th inst. which is thus answered by Rufus King:

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Feby. 19, 1801.

Mr. King presents his compliments to Lord Grenville and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of his note of the 17th, communicating the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, that Major Lenox, not being entitled to any of the privileges of a foreign Minister, is liable to pay taxes to the King during his

residence in this country. Without inquiring into the precise provisions of the Laws regulating the levy of the King's Taxes, according to which it is presumed the Law Officers have formed this opinion, Mr. King takes the liberty to state to Lord Grenville that he is not able to distinguish the principle upon which Foreign Ministers are by public Law exempted from the payment of Taxes in the country of their residence, from that upon which he has claimed a like exemption in favour of Major Lenox. Neither resides abroad from private or personal considerations; both are in the public service of their Country, to promote the convenient and uninterrupted performance of which, each by the comity of nations has a claim to be freed from those demands which apply to the people of the Country where they reside. It was upon this ground that the American Commissioners under the Treaty of Amity and Commerce have been exempted from Taxes.

The service performed by Major Lenox for a time was discharged by the American Minister, but on account of its detail and importance was assigned to a particular Agent, who may be considered as attached to and making a part of the American Legation, and entitled to the exemption which it may justly claim.

Any new difficulties to which this particular service may be exposed would enhance the unpleasant sentiments, with which from its nature it is unavoidably attended; and Mr. King cannot but flatter himself, that, upon a revision of the subject, orders will be given to discharge Major Lenox from the demand for personal Taxes, which has been made upon him.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 5.

LONDON. Feby. 25, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Lord St. Vincent has been appointed First Lord of the Admiralty and Lord Hawkesbury Secretary of State for Foreign Department in lieu of Lord Spencer and Lord Grenville. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas remain in office tho' they have sent in their resignations, and their successors have been named but not form-

ally appointed. In this singular and disjointed condition of the Cabinet, the King was taken ill, and considerable mystery prevailed for a day or two in respect to the nature of his illness. It is now avowed that he has been attacked by a violent Fever and Delirium. Dr. Willis attends him and the Bulletin of this morning says : " His Majesty still has fever but none of the symptoms are worse." No overture has yet been made to France. The King is not able to attend to business, and the situation of the Country is critical and full of difficulty.

The last accounts from Germany still lessen the probability that Prussia will be able to avoid taking a part in support of the Northern Confederacy ; the convention between Russia and Sweden has been published by the latter, and in its principles and provisions seems the renewal of the League of 1780. At present I perceive no change in the opinion that England must and will resist the claims of the Confederacy. Sweden has retaliated by an Embargo upon the few English ships in her Ports ; but this has not yet been done by Denmark or by Prussia. The advance of the French army into the territory of Naples must soon be followed by measures to exclude the English from every part of Italy ; and Portugal must in her turn submit.

The progress which had been made in our negotiation with this Government was such as must have brought it to a speedy conclusion, had not a change taken place in the Department of Foreign affairs ; that the result would in the main have been satisfactory is more than I am authorised to say, tho' I flatter myself with the hope that it would be so. Lord Hawkesbury assures me that he will give to the several subjects which have been pretty fully discussed, an early and impartial consideration ; and I am in hopes that Lord St. Vincent will likewise be inclined to attend to our re-iterated remonstrances against the impressment of our Seamen and the Vexations of our Trade.

The Court of Halifax is to be immediately reformed ; hereafter there are to be but three Vice-Admiralty Courts in America, two in the West Indies and the third in Halifax. The judges will be taken from the Corps of Civilians, and as they are to receive adequate and permanent salaries will not, like their Predecessors, depend upon their condemnations for support.

I yesterday received the duplicate of your No. 9. Such is the

situation of the negotiation that we cannot with propriety relinquish the attempt to adjust the disagreement respecting the 6th Article upon the principle of paying a sum in lieu of what might be awarded under its Provisions. . . .

With perfect Respect & Esteem

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO RT. HONBLE. LORD HAWKESBURY.

GR. CUMBERLAND PLACE, March 6, 1801.

MY LORD:

The Brigantine Sally, John Dorton, Master, owned by Stephen Girard, a citizen and merchant of the United States, and laden with a valuable cargo, on her voyage from Batavia to Philadelphia, has been taken by his Majesty's frigate Cleopatra, Israel Pellew Commander, and condemned by the Vice-Admiralty Court of Halifax, because the owner was born in France tho' he has been naturalized and resident in America for more than twenty years.

Mr. Girard has not only been long and permanently settled in Philadelphia where he has carried on business as a Merchant or Trader with different Countries, but has given the most indisputable Proofs of the ties which unite him to the place of his Residence. In 1793 when the Epidemic Fever desolated Philadelphia which was deserted by almost every person, who had the means of leaving it, Mr. Girard, with a few others, who might also have withdrawn, remained and under the denomination of a Board of Health administered succour and comfort to their suffering fellow citizens at the peril of their own lives.

Not only the cause assigned for the condemnation of this vessel and cargo is unjust and vexatious, but the circumstances & manner in which the property was disposed of were illegal and purposely calculated to impair the remedy which the claimant might expect by carrying his case before the Tribunal of Appeals. The papers which accompany this Note are in every respect so full that it would be superfluous to add any Reflections for the purpose of demonstrating the injustice and oppression of this transaction. The case has been sent to me with express orders from the President of the United States to lay the same before his Majesty's Government and to call upon its justice to take such

measures as shall afford immediate and complete redress to the claimant.

The ordinary course of appeals is attended with so much delay that I cannot but flatter myself in a case so considerable in property and so strong in right, that an immediate examination of this claim will be made and the full value of the property, with exemplary damages, will be decreed to the Claimants.

Mr. Girard has sent a special agent to this country for the sole purpose of recovering this property. I am instructed to give him all the aid in my Power, and he will remain here until the case be decided.

With great Consideration & Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 6.

LONDON, Mar. 7, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

Owing to the continuance of the King's illness, the change of the Ministry is still incomplete, and very little business, beyond the ordinary routine is transacted. It is supposed to be on this account that no measure has been adopted in consequence of the Prussian Note, avowing the King's accession to the Northern Confederacy, the principles of which according to every appearance are to be disputed at the mouth of the Cannon.

The Squadron from Brest has entered the Mediterranean, and is without doubt destined for Egypt, where the English Expedition under Lord Keith and General Abercrombie will have previously arrived. Much and perhaps equal concern exists at Paris and London respecting these Expeditions, as the issue of them must have considerable influence upon the commencement, as well as the conclusion of the Negotiations for Peace.

I am assured that our affairs shall be taken into consideration as soon as the new Cabinet is settled. I am not without hopes that they may be satisfactorily adjusted.

1545, 13405. 1170. 644. 354. 985, 360. 1200. 147. 709. 883. 1125 consent 644. 312. 721. 881. 153. 1495. 1412. 1226. 29. 321. lieu

1410. 240. 253. 554. 10. 2935. 985. 769. 637. 19. 641. 379. 107. 779. 369. 16 Decision 815. 95. 352.*

With perfect Respect & Esteem,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

LONDON, March 7, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

The malady of the King still continues tho' it is confidently said he is convalescent ; the suspension of the Executive Government is attended with much inconvenience, both in respect to foreign and domestic concerns. According to present appearances the question of the armed neutrality must be disputed by the mouth of the Cannon—Prussia has acceded and avows her Decision to support the Confederation. Owing to the extraordinary situation of the Eng. Executive, no ostensible measure has been adopted in consequence of this avowal.

Egypt is the present object of attention a small squadron from Brest has reached the Mediterranean, and is bound without doubt to relieve the french in Egypt. Lord Keith with Genl. Abercrombie will probably be at or near the mouths of the Nile, when the french squadron arrives—Considerable anxiety, if I be not mistaken, exists as well at Paris as at London, respecting Abercrombie's expedition, the fate of which may have a Great influence upon the conclusion, as well as the commencement of negotiations of Peace—We know nothing decisive respecting the Election of President.

Yrs. very truly

R. K.

In a memorandum book† of Mr. King's are found the following extracts, the resignation of the Pitt Ministry in February having previously been noted.

* Not deciphered.

† This memorandum, which was kept from December, 1796, to March, 1803, is full of interesting material, which should have been given at the proper dates. But in some way it was not placed with the other papers, and was not used in preparing the previous pages. It is necessary therefore to print the arlier portion in an Appendix, III., to this volume.—ED.

Mar. 7, 1801.

Lord Landsdown, in conversation respecting the Northern Confederacy, told me this morning that when this question was brought forward during the Amer. war, Russia was very urgent for its adoption and made great assurances, thro' the Ambassador, of what she would do that wd. be acceptable to G. Br. in case it was agreed to. That Fox, who was in the Cabinet at this period, was in its favor, that he, Ld Landsdown was agt. it, as he found the promise of Russian equivalents meant nothing and she wd. not give an army to assist Engd. (as to America probably) and that upon the final question in the Cabinet, he carried his opinion agt. Mr. Fox by only one voice ! ! !

March 8.

Dined at Mr. Erskine's with Fox, Sheridan, St. John and other members of the opposition. The conversation after dinner turned chiefly upon the King's illness, the new Ministry, &c. Otto was present and the subject of Peace occurred. It was confidently said the Prince of Wales was for immediate overtures to France, and had he been declared Regent, that Fox would have been sent Ambassador to Paris.

Touching upon the Northern League Fox intimated very distinctly that the principle must be given up by Engd. Sheridan said it wd. affect the Navigation Act. Fox treated the objection with scorn and sd., the Navigation Act had been and must be departed from; that Engl. skill & capital wd. secure to them a proper portion of navigation and breed seamen for their navy.

Adverting to Abercrombie's Expedition agt. Egypt & the possibility of its failure, some one said France wd. keep Egypt at the peace; suppose she does, said Mr. Fox, why shd. we object? evidently consenting to her doing so.

Mar. 8th.

Lord St. Vincent yesterday sent me a message assuring me that he would take measures to repress the irregular and vexatious conduct of the West India Privateers, & that the new courts should be established without Delay. . . .

Ld. St. Vincent sent for Sr. Wm. Scott and told him that he gave to him the nomination of the new Judges, that the office

shd. be suitably provided for, and if the Judges were found incompetent, Doctor's Commons must be responsible.

In a note from Mr. King of March 10, 1801, to Lord Hawkesbury, he calls his attention to the matters in dispute between their two Governments, specifying them and referring to his correspondence with Lord Grenville and to points which are presented, as additions to his letter, restating them and urging upon the British Government a speedy settlement of them.

R. KING TO HON. THOMAS ERSKINE, ESQ.

(*Confidential.*)

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, March 11, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

As I know your disposition to do every thing in your power to strengthen and prolong the good will and friendship between our respective countries, I take the liberty to mention to you one of the causes which, as much as any other, has occasioned great irritation and been for a long time the subject of ineffectual complaint.

I refer to the practice of the British Navy to impress the Seamen of American Vessels on the high seas, as well as within the British Ports. We have repeatedly offered to agree in any practicable way which could be devised upon measures to discriminate American from British Seamen; our vessels are navigated with as large a proportion of native seamen, as the Ships of Great Britain or of any other country; and we might with equal right impress the seamen of British vessels as Great Britain does those of ours.

If the practice proceed it must become common; as there will be no other means left either to compensate the disadvantages of our Trade, or to convince your Government of the inconvenience and injustice of the practice.

I have lately by order of my Government proposed to you an article, to be added to our Treaty of Amity, &c., by which it shall be agreed "that neither Party shall upon *the high seas* impress

Seamen out of the Vessels of the other." This proposition is now before your Government; the opinion of Lord St. Vincent will probably be decisive in respect to its adoption, and from the just value which I have reason to believe his Lordship places upon your opinions, I am, I confess, very desirous to engage your influence in our favour. I need not say, that were I not convinced of the justice of the measure, I should not think of recommending it to your Protection.

The pretence upon which our Seamen are taken is that the King has a right to the services of his Subjects, and all who speak English are, in the practice of the Navy, considered so, unless they can prove the contrary, a fact not easily established by a seaman, on account of the habitual carelessness of his character, even before an impartial Tribunal, and one that will be rarely proved to the satisfaction of a British Naval officer desirous of keeping his ship well manned.

Admitting that within the territorial Limits of a Nation, measures may be employed to detain such of its Seamen as may be found in the service of another Nation, yet upon the open seas, where the rights of all are equal and independent, these measures cannot be lawfully adopted: the practice derives no support from a state of war, more than from one of Peace, and may, and has been, pursued in Peace as well as in war. Leaving the question for the present open within the respective Territories of the two Countries, we desire to obtain a just security for our Merchant Ships against the loss of their Crews, which are taken away in the open seas; and thereby the property as well as the lives of the officers and such of the Seamen as are not taken exposed to the perils of the Ocean.

With great truth and attachment &c.,

RUFUS KING.

THOS. ERSKINE TO R. KING.

SERGRANTS' INN, March 12, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am very much obliged by the confidence which you repose in me, & for the justice which you do to my regard for *your* country whose interests I cannot be indifferent to without forgetting

my duty to *my own*. We ought to "grapple America to us with Hooks of Steel," and not provoke a war by the same contemptible narrow policy which originally provoked the revolution. I sent your letter to Lord St. Vincent without copying it, & I therefore hope you have preserved a copy of it. I told him that thro' the correspondence with my son in America I had the means of knowing the delicate situation in which we stood towards your great & growing country, & I called upon him in the most earnest manner to attend to the important subject of your letter. I have no doubt that Lord St. Vincent will, as a man of good sense (*which I know He is*) attend deeply to it. It is high time he should, as by a letter I have from Yarmouth roads from a captain of one of the ships of the line, I find they are getting under weigh, or in other words that the signal in made for universal war. In these days it is dangerous to prophecy, but I may have leave to rejoice that part of my property is safe from the violence & injustice of my own country; having a perfect confidence in the integrity of yours towards a stranger whose life has been spent in wishes to unite the world in Harmony & peace.

I ever am, Dear Sir, your most
faithful & obliged Humble servt.
T. Erskine.

Endorsed in R. King's handwriting:

Answer to mine respecting his interference with Ld. St. Vincent respec. the proposed Article that neither party wd. impress seamen out of the vessels of the other on the high seas.

R. King to Lord Hawkesbury.

Great Cumberland Place, 13 March, 1801.

My Lord:

The decree of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Nassau, a copy of which is annexed—concerning the cargo of an American vessel going from the United States to a port in the Spanish Colonies on the ground that the articles of transient Merchandize composing the same, tho' bona fide neutral Property, were of the growth of Spain, having been sanctioned, and the Principle extended by the Prize Courts of the other British Islands, and particularly by

the court of Jamaica, has been sufficient authority to the Commanders of the Ships of war and privateers cruizing in those seas, to fall upon and capture all American vessels bound to an Enemy's Colony, and having on board any article of the growth or manufacture of a Nation at war with Great Britain.

These captures which are vindicated by what is termed the "Belligerent's" right to distress his Enemy by interrupting the supplies which his habits or convenience may require, have produced the strongest and most serious complaints among the American Merchants, who have seen with indignation a reason assigned for the capture and confiscation of their property, which is totally disregarded in the open and protected Trade carried on between the British and Spanish Colonies, by British and Spanish subjects, in the very articles, the supply of which by neutral Merchants is interrupted.

The Law of Nations acknowledged in the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Great Britain, allows the Goods of an Enemy to be lawful Prize, and pronounces those of a friend to be free.

While the United States take no measures to abridge the Rights of Great Britain as a Belligerent, they are bound to resist with firmness every attempt to extend them to the equally incontestible Rights of Nations, which find their interest and duty in living in peace with the rest of the world.

As long as the ancient Law of Nations is observed, which protects the innocent Merchandize of Neutrals while it abandons to the Belligerent the goods of his Enemy, a plain Rule exists and may be appealed to to decide the Rights of peace and of war: the Belligerent has no better authority to curtail the Rights of the Neutrals, than the Neutral has to do the like in regard to the Rights of the Belligerent; and it is only by an adherence to the ancient code and the rejection of modern glosses, that fixed and precise Rules can be found, defining the Rights and regulating the Duties of independent States.

This subject is of such importance, and the essential Interests of the United States, whose Policy is that of peace, are so deeply affected by the Doctrines which during this present war have been set up, in order to enlarge the rights of Belligerents, at the expense of those of neutrals, that I shall without loss of time sub-

mit to your Lordship's consideration such farther reflections respecting the same as its great importance appears to demand.

In the mean time as the Decisions referred to cannot from the unavoidable delay which attends the presentation of appeals, be speedily reversed and as the effect of those decrees will continue to be the unjust and ruinous interruption of the American Commerce in the West India Seas, it is my duty to require, that precise instructions shall without delay be dispatched to the proper officers in the West Indies and Nova Scotia, to correct the abuses which have arisen out of these illegal decrees, and put an end to the depredations, which are wasting the lawful commerce of a peaceable and friendly nation.

With great Consideration & Respect

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GEORGE ROSE, ESQ.

GT. CUMBERLAND PLACE, Mar. 16, 1801.

SIR:

Though it would be more regular that I should make the application, through Lord Hawkesbury's office, I save time, which is of importance, by addressing myself immediately to you. To the Facts stated in the enclosed Letter from Dickson & Co. I think it proper to add, that according to my information, the conduct of the Revenue Officers of the Port of London has become so arbitrary and oppressive, always under the plea of Duty, that with the most scrupulous attention to the Laws, the American Ships employed in the Tobacco Trade are not only exposed to great detention, and embarrassment, but frequently obliged to pay considerable sums of money to ransom themselves from suits upon false and frivolous Pretexts, with which they are menaced. In the instance of the Mehitable, Follansbee Master, an offer is at length made to release the 10 Hogsheads of Tobacco, which had been seized, and to discharge the Ship, provided the seizing officer be paid 20. Guineas. I know that you will disapprove and take pleasure in correcting these abusive irregularities, and therefore make no apology for bringing these cases before you, or requesting your interference to do us justice.

With perfect respect &c.

R. KING.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Cabot to King—Jefferson's Inaugural gives Federalists much Hope—Bad Omen if King leaves his Post—Persuaded England will triumph—King to Southgate—Expects a Successor—Affectionate Expressions—Cabot to King—Jefferson's Speech more liked by Federalists than Democrats—Troup to King—Similar Opinion—Cabinet and other Appointments—Generally believed he was not to be suspended—New York Appointments—Rights claimed by Gov. Clinton—Lord St. Vincent to T. Erskine—Expressing high Respect for Mr. King—Hard to draw a Line on Impressments—King to Secretary of State—New Ministry—Sir Hyde Parker gone to Baltic with a Fleet—Debate in Parliament on free Bottoms make free Goods—Neutral Rights—Overtures of Peace—Affairs of United States delayed but pushed—Cession of Louisiana and Floridas to France—Fears injurious Effects upon the Union—Gen. Collot's proposed Voyage to United States—Importance of having an able Minister at Paris—King to Lawrance—Had not the Ministers gone out, believes he would have been able to settle United States Affairs satisfactorily—Cabot to King—England will triumph—King to remain—No war with England—Some Changes of Officers made—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Vices of the Vice-Admiralty Courts in West Indies and Nova Scotia, and Reforms suggested—Asks when the Delays in taking up the Negotiations with the United States will cease—King to Addington—Relative to Commission under 6th Article—Asks for a Decision—To Secretary of State—English Ships excluded from the Continent—France supplied by Neutrals from England—Peace yet uncertain—If Egypt evacuated, Peace more probable.

R. King to Robert Southgate, Esq.

London, Mar. 16, 1801.

My dear Sir:

I am extremely obliged to you for your kind letter of the 2d of January. The information it gives me is such as for a long time I have been solicitous to receive. At present I have only time to say that my continuance here is uncertain. When I left America we expected that the war would be at an end in two or three years; and that an opportunity would then present itself for a

revision of the Treaty concluded by Mr. Jay, which would be advantageous to the U. S. and favourable to my reputation. The war still goes on and the change of men in America will probably be followed by correspondent changes in Europe: I therefore expect a successor. In this event I shall pass the winter upon the continent and return home in the summer of 1802. Mr. Pickering, who is my present Secretary, being destined to the profession of the Law, will embark for America in six or eight weeks; I shall not engage any one in his place, which you may consider as belonging to your Son, should I continue here.

I will only add, that I am under no stronger obligation to any one than to you, and that I shall find peculiar satisfaction, should the opportunity occur, in repaying to the Son, those tokens of kindness and Protection, which I myself received from his father. To the expression of my affectionate regards for my Sister, and the other branches of the family, I must add the assurances of the sincerest attachment with which I remain &c.

RUFUS KING.

GEO. CABOT TO R. KING.

March 20, 1801.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

All our newspapers have copied the inauguration speech of Mr. Jefferson, you cannot fail therefore of having seen it before this will reach you. It is so conciliatory that much hope is derived from it by the Federalists; it certainly contains *some foolish* & *some pernicious* as well as *many good* ideas. On the whole however its temper entitles it to respect & whatever may be the sincerity of its professions, good policy requires that they be trusted till contradicted by actions.

Much anxiety has been felt lest the new administration shou'd involve us in a quarrel with G. B., to which we had made some approaches by the strange negligence of their Predecessor. I have some reason however to believe that accommodation is as likely to be made with the present as former President. We shall think it a bad omen if you quit your station; we know of no one who can so well serve us in it.

Our accounts from your side of the water lead us to expect the most vigorous maritime war between England & all the Fools of Europe in the service of France. I pray God their Fleets may meet in nearly equal numbers & that England may reap new laurels. She alone defends & has defended those neutrals who are combining against her; & if they succeed in their project the liberty of the Sea will be like the liberty of the land, the *liberty of serving France*. If the English are not disordered by scarcity they have nothing to fear; they are an overmatch for all the Naval forces that can be brought against them & the Confederacy of their Enemies like all Confederacies will dissolve & be disgraced. At any rate I am persuaded England will triumph on the Sea if she perseveres; & you will see Russians, Danes & Swedes vanquished if their Ships put out. I am mortified to see the Neutral nations made the Dupes of France under the shallow pretence of aiding Neutral Commerce. Nothing is more certain than that Neutral Commerce is *much more* lucrative under the operation of the old maritime Code as *commonly enforced*, than it wou'd be with the reformations which are professed to be aimed at. We discuss these subjects lately & think more justly than we used: we see now that Neutrals wou'd lose & Belligerents alone wou'd save anything by the maxim of "Free Ships make Free Goods." The Neutrals will gain most when the Belligerent property is most exposed: the true interest of Neutrals requires only that their own *bona fide* property be protected, & all the regulations & stipulations between them & Belligerents shou'd refer to the ascertainment of that property & its protection.

Yours affy.

G. C.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

March 20, 1801.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

We are all tranquil as they say at Paris after a Revolution. Mr. Jefferson's conciliatory speech is better liked by our party than his own: how he will act remains to be proved, but hopes are entertained now which cou'd not have existed if his speech had partaken of the temper of his party. A large majority are better satisfied than they wou'd have been with a Reelection.

John Bull is finally disencumbered of all his Allies—he is not the less likely to have a glorious campaign & I pray God he may! —a good beating will serve the northern powers & prevent them in future from being the Dupes of France . . . I sometimes feel angry that the English are so haughty & oppressive to Neutrals but I think if the power of France were to predominate on the Sea there woud be an end of Neutral Rights & we should look to the departed power of England with inexpressible regret.

G. C.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 23d March, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Jefferson's inaugural speech is particularly worthy of notice. It has displeased the most violent of the party attached to him. The federalists, in general, are taken with it and hope better things than they were led to expect from him. Madison is Secretary of State. . . . Some say that Gallatin and Smith are ridding themselves of commercial concerns and other business in order to enter upon their offices a short time hence in a freer and purer state. . . .

The chancellor (Livingston) was offered the Secretaryship of State, but he preferred being resident minister at Paris, and he has been appointed accordingly. DeWitt Clinton and Spencer of Columbia county, with another democrat associated with them compose a majority in the Council of Appointment, and a violent disagreement now exists between them and the Governor. They claim a concurrent right with him to nominate; he insists on his exclusive right. In this state of things the council separated. The Governor applied to the Legislature for an explanatory law. They have refused to interfere. All appointments are therefore at a stand. The members of the Council published a manifesto justifying their conduct. . . .

It is not, however, thought that Jefferson will carry his displacing system to an extreme. It seems to be generally believed by our friends from Washington that you are not to be suspended; and nothing to contradict this idea has yet transpired.

Gov. Jay has resolved, if possible, to make a compromise about the office of Chancellor in order to get Lawrance on the Supreme Court Bench in the room of Benson, appointed to be judge of the circuit composed of this State, Connecticut and Vermont under the late Judicial Bill. For this purpose his present intention is to nominate Chief Justice Lansing to the office of Chancellor. He is the safest man of all that party, and they will be puzzled to negative him, or to express any dislike to his appointment. . . .

We are now in a state of profound quiet; and I see no cause for expecting a different state of things. If Jefferson conducts with moderation and good sense, he will be supported by all the enlightened federalists. . . .

Yours,

R. T.

THOS. ERSKINE TO R. KING.

SERJEANTS' INN, March 23, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

Lord St. Vincent immediately answered my letter, but as I was at Derby I did not get it until my return. It would give me the greatest possible pleasure to be useful at any time in promoting a good understanding between America & this country, & in shewing the regard with which I always am

Most sincerely yours,

T. ERSKINE.

Enclosed in the above is Lord St. Vincent's answer dated:

ADMIRALTY, 13th March, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

My first object on coming to this Board, was to restore the Courts of Admiralty in the Colonies with a view to check the vexations which the American Commerce has been subject to, and Sir Wm. Scott, who is to name to the new appointments, has it now under consideration.

Mr. King is probably not aware of the abuses which are committed by the American Consuls in France, Spain, & Portugal,

from the generality of whom every Englishman, knowing him to be such, may be made an American for a dollar. I have known more than one American Master carry off Soldiers in their Regimentals, arms & accoutrements from the Garrison of Gibraltar, and there cannot be a doubt but the American Trade is navigated by a majority of British Subjects, & a considerable one too. Thus it becomes a very difficult point to draw the line, and I have always considered this as the greatest evil arising from the separation.

I entertain a very high respect for the public & private character of Mr. King, and I prize your friendship still higher, and you may rest assured that whenever Lork Hawkesbury makes to me a communication on this subject, I will do everything consistent with my duty to the Public to cement the union between the two countries.

Yours most truly,

ST. VINCENT.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 7.

LONDON, March 26, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

Though the King has recovered, he does not yet hold a court, nor is it understood that he attends to any but the most pressing and indispensable business. The chief of the new Ministers are in their places, and all of them will be so in the course of a few days. The Duke of Portland remains in the same Department ; Mr. Addington, the late Speaker, is at the head of the Treasury ; Lord Saint Vincent of the Admiralty ; Lord Hawkesbury of the Foreign Affairs ; Lord Chatham of the Ordinance ; Lord Hoburt is Secretary of War, Lord Hardwick, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Eldon will be the Chancellor. With the exception of Lord St. Vincent, the new administration is taken from among the political friends of the old one, which in return has pledged itself to support its successors.

It is more than a fortnight since the Fleet, under Sir Hyde Parker, sailed from Yarmouth Roads for the Baltic for the pur-

pose of disputing the Question of Armed Neutrality. No news has been received from it since its arrival in the Cattegat. If I am not mistaken, the expectation here is that Denmark and Russia will be detached from the League ; tho' after what has been done it is a little difficult to conceive upon what reputable pretext these Powers will withdraw. England thinks that Denmark and Prussia will decline the issue of force, and from all I hear, it is quite likely that both of them believe that England will not, as she certainly has resolved to do, carry matters to that extremity.

In the Debates which have lately taken place in both Houses of Parliament the Doctrine that Free bottoms make free Goods became a topic for discussion. The Ministerial side of the two Houses treated the question in a high and positive tone, denying the Right claimed by Neutrals in this respect, and declaring its importance to be such that if from notions of expediency it should be given up, the chief means upon which the safety of the Nation depends would thereby be relinquished. The opposition likewise denied the Right, but argued that its importance was overrated, and that instead of forcing the question to the decision which was now appealed to, it should have been got rid of in like manner as it was in the year 1780. In the course of this debate, which I attended in both Houses, it was broadly denied by Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, tho' little pains were taken to support their opinion either by argument or authorities, 1st. that Free bottoms make free goods ; 2nd. that neutrals may trade with blockaded Ports ; 3rd. that naval stores are innocent merchandize ; 4th. that convoys protect from search ; 5th. that neutrals may carry on during war a trade from which they were excluded in peace.

These questions which were treated with great positiveness on one side were ill-understood and feebly discussed on the other. I was curious to hear what could be offered to disprove the last point, the denial of which has always appeared to me to be a limitation of the Rights of Neutrals, inconsistent with the equality and mutual dependence of Nations, and I was not disappointed in finding that it has no better or other support than the mere convenience and advantage, which it is calculated to procure to the Belligerent.

From the Levant no such intelligence has been received as enables any one to do more than conjecture the result of the Expedition to dislodge the French from Egypt. Little reliance seems to be placed upon the efficacious cooperation of the Turks; and should Gautheau's squadron have reached Egypt before the squadron of Lord Keith, the principal part of which wintered in the Bay of Macis on the coast of Caramania, the French army will have received such supplies of every sort, as will put them on an equality with the forces under General Abercromby, and tend much to lessen his best chance of success, that of inducing the French army, anxious to return to France, to consent to a Convention for the evacuation of Egypt. This, should it happen, would remove a thorny point in the way of peace, overtures for which are understood to have been already made by the new Ministry. The old question respecting the boundaries of France, and the form and stability of its Government will be kept entirely out of sight. The terms may be difficult to adjust, but not insurmountably so, unless France should insist upon the recognition of the maritime Rules, laid down in the Northern League, to which England will not consent so long as her present naval superiority shall continue.

In respect to our own affairs, I can do no more than repeat what I am weary of having repeated to me, that the King's illness, the change of Ministry, and the attention to more urgent and indispensable business have, against the inclination of the Government, hitherto prevented them from coming to a decision concerning them. I have been very lately assured that the business shall be soon taken up; and as the several points have been fully discussed, a little time only will be requisite to decide them. I have not thought it necessary to send you copies of my correspondence; preferring to submit it entire together with the result, whatever it may be, of the negotiation. It will then be seen that I have not been insensible to the disadvantages arising from the delay, which as far as prudence and decorum would permit, I have endeavoured to prevent.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

Rufus King.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 8.

LONDON, March 29, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

In confirmation of the rumours of the day, Carnot's answer to Bailleul, published during the exile of the former, states the project which had been discussed in the Directory, to obtain from Spain a cession of Louisiana and the Floridas. A reference to that performance, copies of which I at the time sent to the Department of State, will shew the manner in which it was expected to obtain the consent of Spain, as well as afford a clue to the views of France in taking this establishment. What was then meditated, has in all probability since been executed : the cession of Tuscany to the infant Duke of Parma by the Treaty between France and Austria, forms a more compact and valuable compensation to this Branch of the House of Spain than was formerly thought of, and adds very great credit to the opinion, which at this time prevails both at Paris and London, that Spain has in return actually ceded Louisiana and the Floridas to France. There is reason to know that it is the opinion of certain influential persons in France, that nature has marked a line of separation between the People of the United States living upon the two sides of the Range of Mountains which divide that Territory. Without discussing the considerations which are suggested in support of this opinion, or the false consequences, as I wish to believe them, deduced from it, I am apprehensive that this cession is intended to have, and may actually produce effects injurious to the Union and consequent happiness of the People of the United States. Louisiana and the Floridas may be given to the French Emigrants, as England once thought of giving them to the American Tories ; or they may constitute the reward of some of the Armies which can be spared at the end of the war.

I hear that General Collot, who was a few years ago in America, and a Traveller in the Western Country, and who for some time has been in disgrace and confinement in France, has been lately set at liberty, and that he, with a considerable number of disaffected and exiled Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen, is soon to proceed from France to the United States. Whether their

voyage has any relation to the cession of Louisiana is matter of mere conjecture; but having heard of it in connection with that Project, I think it proper to mention it to you.

What effect a plain and judicious representation upon this subject made to the French Government by a Minister of talents and entitled to confidence, would be likely to have, is quite beyond any means of judging which I possess; but on this account, as well as others of importance, it is a subject of regret that we have not such a character at this time at Paris.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO JOHN LAWRANCE.

LONDON, March 29, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have just received your kind letter of the 18th ulto. We had however before heard of the issue of the Election, which I hope, and on the whole believe, will not produce all the mischiefs which have been predicted or feared. I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you this year. We *hope* that Peace must and will be concluded this summer; in this event I shall pass the Autumn & Winter upon the Continent. My Successor will probably arrive by Midsummer, and in this event I hope to return home early in the spring of next year. . . .

The new ministers are at last in office; the King has recovered, and overtures, it is believed, have already been made to France on the subject of Peace. The old Topics, respecting the restoration of the Monarchy, & the prudence of waiting for the evidence of Facts, that the new Govt. is able to maintain the relations of Peace &c. &c. will be omitted, and the negotiation will turn upon mere terms. If France insist upon England's acceding to the Doctrine that free bottoms make free goods, the negotiation will soon be at an end, as upon this point there is at present no probability that Eng. will yield. Had not the old ministers gone out I have reason to believe (this in confidence) that I should soon have been able to settle our affairs in a pretty satisfactory way. The subject is new to their successors, and tho' what has been done will not, I hope, prove useless, more time will now be

necessary than could be wished, before the matter can be decided. The West India & Halifax Courts are reforming. They will be put on a good footing. Orders go by the next Packet to repress depredations upon our trade to the Spanish Colonies.

The new President has much in his power, and if he conduct as to public measures with moderation and wisdom, he will save our Govt. and Country from the Reproaches which the invidious and obstinate Partizans of a different Scheme are waiting to cast upon both.

Very truly your faithful friend

R. K.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

March 30, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have recd. your letter of the 19th January which gives me some satisfaction as it strengthens my hope that the British Empire will yield nothing to the New Confederacy acting under the auspices of France. I am perfectly satisfied *if Britain is true to herself* she will yet triumph over all her Enemies: she has abundant means & if she uses them with tolerable skill, they will be successful. The miserable states of Sweden & Denmark can do but little to injure England while *they* may be made to suffer extremely, & the petulance & capricious temper of the Russian Emperor renders his perseverance after one campaign very improbable. . . . Probably you will learn from others before this reaches you that Humphries, Smith & Murray are to be recalled. I have not been informed who are to replace the two latter but the immaculate Citizen Chs. Pinckney is to go to Madrid. Mr. Ellsworth *or* Mr. Murray is to consummate with Bonaparte the unfinished Treaty which is carried out by Dawson of Congress. "Mr. King is to remain at the British Court;" "the President is sincerely determined to preserve the peace with the British Empire." You may be assured that it will give great pleasure to all the good men in our Country to find that you are to continue; I beg therefore you may rightly appreciate all the circumstances which bind you a little longer to the *service* in which you are engaged. I have long considered a war with England at this

period as an event the most fatal to the United States that cou'd happen—even if it shou'd prove a successful one to us—perhaps the worse for being successful ; such a war wou'd overthrow completely all good principles & all good men in the United States; it wou'd bring in the reign of that diabolical spirit which has proved such a curse to France until it was *laid* by the sword of Bonaparte.

Jefferson & Madison don't intend war but their policy always has been & probably will be to keep up the highest animosity that can be borne without open war. If such is their system we shall come to a rupture *if the affairs of England by any new turn of things shou'd make a war desirable to the Ruling Party there.* I have so often expressed anxieties on this point that you have been led to think I magnified the danger of a War with England. I know full well the *force* of some of those reasons which must operate in the mind of a British Statesman against provoking new Enemies ; but I know also that those who govern here may render a quarrel unavoidable by *over*rating that force, & I repeat that the evils resulting from such an event are of a kind that ought to be dreaded much more than the mere pecuniary losses we shou'd suffer, *immense as they wou'd be.* I understand *from Stoddert* that our public vessels are *not* to resist the search of the British when attempted of those under their convoy. Stoddert is out of office but I am not informed who succeeds him. Dexter will leave the Treasury in a fortnight from this time & Gallatin will preside over our Money affairs. I know not what his principles are but if he connects his views of fame & of interest with the maintenance of public credit he will be able to secure more of both than in any different course. A few changes are made already of officers at a distance from the seat of Govt. & more are expected.

Yours faithfully & afftly,

G. C.

R. King to Rt. Hon. Lord Hawkesbury.

Great Cumberland Place, April 1, 1801.

My Lord :

The enclosed affidavit made before the Governor of Bermuda will make your Lordship acquainted with the very reprehensible conduct of the Vice-Admiralty Court of that Colony, in refusing

its assistance to give effect to the Court of Appeals in Prize causes, and by reason whereof, the definitive Sentence of Restitution pronounced by this Tribunal, has, in the cases referred to, become altogether illusory.

It having been already determined by his Majesty's Government to reform the Vice-Admiralty Courts in the West Indies and Nova Scotia, I make this representation not only for the purpose of procuring immediate redress in the cases to which it relates, but with the hope that it will moreover be considered as an additional and urgent reason for the speedy completion of the Reform which has been decided upon.

As this measure is still under consideration, I take the liberty to observe that however sufficient the reasons may have been in the early institution of Prize courts, when the Territory subject to their respective jurisdiction was more confined than at present, to justify the variety and succession of Process, issuing from the Court of Appeal to enforce a definitive sentence of Restitution, the application of this practice to the distant Colonies of Europe, especially since the very great extension of Navigation in modern Times, is found to be productive of such great and unreasonable delay, expence and uncertainty, as in all cases to impair, and in many to defeat the remedy, it is the duty of this Tribunal to offer.

These disadvantages are most frequently and seriously experienced in the process against the Commanders and owners of Privateers which have been commissioned in the Colonies. According to the understood and necessary course of Proceeding, after a decree of restitution is pronounced by the Court of Appeals, as in the cases enumerated in the inclosed affidavit, Process issues and is sent to the Colonies against the Commanders of the Privateers, who to avoid the same in most cases, abscond from the Ports where their Privateers were commissioned. Upon a return to this effect, the Court of Appeals are moved to issue a second process against the bondsmen of the Commanders of the Privateers if their names can be ascertained. This is likewise sent to the Colonies, and frequently disobeyed by the Bondsmen, if they do not chance likewise to have absconded.

Upon the return of this second process, the Court of Appeals is moved to issue a third one against the owners of the Privateers, who are already likewise the agents of the Crew ; and possessing

the captured property are interested in detaining the same by every dilatory means, which it may be in their power to employ: in a word such are the various inconveniences in carrying into effect a decree of Restitution, that in a plurality of American cases it has become a question whether it is not the part of prudence to abandon the property unjustly captured rather than to pursue a remedy so expensive, dilatory and liable to ultimate failure.

If the proceeds of the captured Property should be placed in the hands of an officer of the Court, who should be precluded from employing the same for his private emolument, a great source of abuse would be cut off; it would moreover be a still greater reform, if a joint and effectual process not only notifying the sentence of Restitution, but peremptorily enforcing obedience to it, should issue against the Owners and Commanders of Privateers instead of distinct and successive monitions—the cause having been definitively decided, justice seems to require that the process intended to give effect to such decision, should be direct and peremptory, reaching all the Parties, and compelling them to obedience.

With perfect consideration & Respect &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO RT. HON. LORD HAWKESBURY.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, April 1, 1801.

MY LORD:

I take the liberty to recall to your Lordship's recollection the Letter which I had the honour to write to you on the 10th ultimo.

The unsettled situation of the business to which that Letter relates is productive of great and increasing Disadvantages to the United States, and although its adjustment may be matter of secondary consideration and for this reason may continue to be postponed to other and more pressing concerns, on the part of his Majesty's Government, it is nevertheless a subject not only of great importance but of the most urgent nature on the part of the United States. Having had reason to expect that a final adjustment of the mutual claims of the two countries would have been effected before the close of the last year, I sent to my Government information to that effect, and from time to time have

likewise explained what I conceived to be the causes of the delays which have since arisen ; the negotiation having been reduced to precise points, which have been fully discussed, it has become my duty to transmit to my Government more authentic information respecting the delay which still prevents its conclusion ; and to enable me to do so, I take the liberty to request your Lordship to inform me, whether his Majesty's Government has, or is likely soon to, come to any decision, respecting the several propositions referred to in my Letter to your Lordship of the 10th ultimo.

With high consideration & Respect &c

RUFUS KING.

Mr. King writes in his Memorandum Book :

1801, Apr. 3d (Good Friday).

Dined at Ld. Lansdown's, reminded him of the papers respecting the American Loyalists and relative to the Amer. Peace, wh. he had said he wd. shew me. He repeated his determination to shew them to me, said he wd. be in town in May, when he wd. look them out ; and then added that he had a wish that they shd. be preserved in some of the public offices of the U. S. I applauded his proposal and offered to deposit them there as testimonial of the enlightened views wh. governed his conduct in making the Amer. Peace.

Referring to that negotiation, he said Lawrance was a Rascal ! that he believed himself sure of him, when he left England ; intimated that he had disappointed his expectation. Franklin, he said, wanted to do every thing by cunning wh. was the bottom of his character ; that the Amer. Peace was a stock jobbing one ; that D'Aranda & the French Minrs. gambled in the English Funds ; he knew the persons whom D'Aranda employed ; that he himself was faithfully and honorably served by Ld. St. Helens (Fitzherbert) to whom he offered a pension of £2000 a year after the Treaty was made, wh. he refused.

That there was no secret agency as in the peace of 1763, when there *were three skins*, one within another, the outside one the Duke of Bedford knowing nothing of the second, which controlled his measures, and the second ignorant of the efficient one which really did the business. At the same hour that an official dispatch ordered the Duke of Bedford to hold a certain high

language to the French Ministers, a second one gave instructions to the confidential agent to inform the Duke Choiseul beforehand that the Duke of Bedford wd. hold a certain language, of wh. it was expected that no notice wd. be taken ; &c—

Mr. King writes in his Memorandum Book:

April 8.

Having requested an interview with the new Minister, Mr. Addington, I went to his house in Downing Street this morning—having prepared a Précis of the Question * respecting the Br. Debts. I took it with me, and after expressing the object of my visit delivered him the paper with the observation that what I had to say wd. chiefly apply to that statement. The object of my remarks was to impress upon his mind that any farther delay in bringing them to a close would be impolitic, and might prove injurious to the harmony of our respective countries. He received this communication in a satisfactory manner, said that Lord Hawkesbury had last evening, in mentioning his appointment with me, alluded to the negotiation wh. he said must be brought to a conclusion, and added for himself that the business shd. positively be attended to, in *a few days*, or in other words, as soon as a momentary pressure of business had passed by. In a more general conversation wh. ensued, he expressed sentiments such as an English Minister ought to entertain respecting America. As he knows nothing of the particular subject of the Debts, he made no other observation respecting it, than that in his opinion other considerations arising out of the mutual and peculiar advantages of a friendly intercourse between G. Br. & America ought to have their influence in the settlement in question.

I inquired of the King's health. He said it was certainly improving ; the seven last days had done much to restore him ; he had during that term slept well every night, his appetite had returned and his usual habits and manners towards the persons about him had become such as before his illness. This had not been the case before—probably he wd. ride out today.

He certainly has not been as before insane : the derangement has been that of a violent nervous turn, and the delirium subsided with the fever. The physicians are still with him, tho' they say in any other case, they shd. think it suitable to retire ; but that as

* The Précis delivered by Mr. King follows.

his age is critical (63) and the same remedies, wh. were formerly beneficial, have been otherwise during his present attack, they think it proper to watch the statè of their patient's health till it shall be completely restored and confirmed. That he attends to urgent and indispensable business only, reads the newspapers, &c, but does not engage in the full amount of affairs.

Speaking of the extraordinary state of the country, with a ministry partly old and partly new, he intimated that the chancellor (Loughborough) wished a Regency; that the Prince sent for him three times and, as was his duty, he waited on him; that in his first visit he told the Pr. that he was not in office; that Mr. Pitt was the Chancellor of the Exchequer; that the Pr. then sent for Mr. Pitt, who declined going without him Mr. Addington; that when they went together the Pr. intimated his determination to employ the person chosen by the King; that he expressed his sentiments with great respect, but said nothing manifesting any wishes for the continuance of the King's favorable attentions by the Prince. What would have happened he could not be sure; the Regency project presented to and refused by him, so that had it become unavoidable he might not have been in *very good odour*.

Alluding to the disagreement with the Northern Powers, he said, that the King had a pretty strong opinion that Hanover wd. be preserved to his family by the mutual jealousy between France and Prussia, neither of wh. would be willing that the other shd. possess it, tho' both might covet it & be ready to deprive his family of it.

Respecting the Catholic question, he said, he was disposed to complete toleration, but there were certain offices to wh. he could not consent to admit Catholics, without being ready, wh. he was not, to abolish the constitutional principle that England was a protestant kingdom.

He cd. not consent that a Catholic shd. be Lord High Chancellor, by wh. means the Protestants might have Catholic Bps and Arch Bps set over them, and the King's conscience might be in other hands than their ancestors had thought worthy of keeping it. He wished to reform Ireland, to emancipate it, but the reform and emancipation wh. he desired was not to convert the poor, the ignorant and the besotted into Legislators, but by salutary laws,

to rescue them from poverty, ignorance and religious errors, wh· alone could make them either happy or respectable.

Touching upon the late Debate respecting the rights of belligerents and neutrals, I disapproved the doctrine laid down both by Ld. Grenville and Mr. Pitt in respect to the colony trade, adding that they were not called upon to discuss or defend that point; wh. certainly was less capable of support than that upon wh they were at issue with the North of Europe, and the maintenance of wh. might raise up prejudices in quarters not disposed to unite in the Northern League. He said he quite agreed with me in the impolicy of these extrajudicial opinions.

DELIVERED TO MR. ADDINGTON AT A CONFERENCE.

8th April, 1801.

According to the course of the Trade between Great Britain and America before the war, the term of credit never exceeded twelve months; the greater part of the Remittances were made in the Produce of the Colonies, which according to the Provisions of the Navigation Act, was chiefly sent to the Mother Country, and, subject to particular exceptions, the payments were annual. According to different Documents it appears that during the last year of the mutual dealings between Great Britain and the Colonies, which now form the United States, the new debt created did not exceed one tenth of the usual annual amount, while the payments were greater than those of any former year; so that it may be presumed that a very large proportion of the govt. Debt was actually paid before the intercourse was broken off by the war.

British Debts were in some instances sequestered in the course of the war at the close of which it was stipulated, in the Treaty of Peace, *that all legal* Impediments to the recovery of bona fide Debts should be removed in both cases.

The British Creditors complained that, notwithstanding the stipulation, they were not, in all cases, able to recover their Debts by reason of the continuance of legal impediments; and the 6th article of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1794, provided that a Commission should be established with authority to award Compensation to be paid by the American Government for losses sustained by the British Creditors, by reason of the continuance of such legal impediments; provided the same could not be recovered in the ordinary course of the Judicial Department.

The Proceedings of this Commission were arrested on account of a difference of opinion among the Commissioners in the interpretation of their Powers ; and the United States ordered their Minister in London to propose to the British Government an article explanatory of the Treaty of 1794, and which should ascertain its opinion with greater precision.

Great Britain declined the proposal of an explanatory Article, and offered to suppress the Article which it was proposed to explain, provided the United States would pay a sum of between one and two millions Sterling, which should be received in full satisfaction of the whole Debt claimed by the British Creditors. As many of the American Debtors have paid their Debts, and most of those who had not were able to pay them ; and as the American Courts were completely open to enforce such payments, the United States declined the proposal of paying a sum in lieu and satisfaction of the whole Debt, and authorised her Minister to offer a sum in lieu of what ought under the Treaty of 1794 be awarded to be paid by the American Government, leaving to the Creditors their full rights to recover their Debts in the ordinary course of the Judiciary.

This last proposal having been fully discussed, and the negotiation brought to a point, it now only remains to be decided whether it shall be closed upon the proposed Terms, or left open and liable to the casualties and mutual Disadvantages to which the changes of the present times may expose it.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 9.

LONDON, April 10, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

The unexpected occupation of Hamburgh by the Danes and the Treaty between France and Naples have nearly completed the exclusion of the Ships of England from the Ports of the Continent ; if the King of Prussia take possession of Hanover, as it is believed he will do, the Ems and the Weser will in like manner be closed ; and as Portugal is unable to resist the measures employed against her, the Ships of England must very shortly be excluded from every Port of the Continent from Archangel to Venice.

Notwithstanding these impediments, Goods of all descriptions have been sent in unusually large quantities in Neutral Ships, directly from England to France. The difficulty in procuring Neutral Flags since the misunderstanding with the Northern Powers has somewhat checked this Commerce, which will however be now resumed with fresh vigour in American Bottoms. French Merchants have openly attended the sales of the East India Company, and their purchases are shipped directly to France, under Licenses granted by the Privy Council, which although they do not specify the ownership, protect the property in its Passage. Each Country seems disposed to encourage this intercourse; France by opening her Ports to Vessels coming immediately from England, and England by protecting Frenchmen, who come hither as Swiss merchants, in their purchases and assisting them by taking off the Sequestration upon Debts due to Persons residing in France, on condition that the money be laid out in the purchase of Goods to be exported to the Continent.

Tho' frequent couriers pass and repass between Paris and London Peace continues to be the subject of doubtful expectation, and will remain so till the uncertainty which hangs over the Expeditions against Egypt and the Baltic shall be removed. It is quite probable that something decisive has by this time taken place in Egypt. Accounts are hourly expected of the proceedings of the Fleet under Sir Hyde Parker; the delay which occurred in attempting the passage of the Sound, after the Fleet reached the Cattegat, has given rise to the belief that negotiations were still going on, notwithstanding the English Legation has left Copenhagen, and the Danish Envoy leaves London tomorrow; but the delay is more naturally explained by the fact that a steady and leading wind is necessary to enable the Fleet to proceed.

If Egypt be evacuated by the French, a very thorny point in the way of negotiation will be overcome, and Malta in this event might be given to Russia as the price of reconciliation with that Power. France will doubtless put forward a demand that England shall acknowledge the Principles of the Northern League, but may perhaps be willing to abandon the claim, when every other difficulty in the way of Peace shall be got over.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XXX.

King to Secretary of State—Advises Publication of his last Letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the Seizure of Vessels loaded with Spanish Goods, and the Answers from Lord Hawkesbury and Duke of Portland—Sentence of the Vice-Admiralty Courts erroneous—King to Secretary of State—English Fleet at Copenhagen—Death of Emperor Paul—Probable Break of Northern League—Nelson's Victory at Copenhagen—King to Sir W. Scott, asking how long before Appointment of new Judges in Vice-Admiralty Courts—King to Strickland—Estimate of Jefferson—King to Secretary of State—United States Affairs, though delayed, may be settled on reasonable Principles—Lord Hawkesbury promised early Attention—Mr. Addington favors Settlement on the 6th Article on Terms proposed—Obliged to Mr. Sitgreaves for his Help—King to Secretary of State—Action at Copenhagen—Russia to re-establish friendly Relations with England—Russia has taken Possession of Hanover—Negotiations between Paris and London going on—The King's Relapse—Uncertainty of his Recovery—Jewels etc., sent to Bey of Tunis—Wants Money to pay for them and for various Salaries and Commissions—King to Secretary of State—Interviews with Ministers on several Matters, especially the Debts—Reasons for a more favorable Disposition towards United States—King to Lord Eldon—Asks his Attention to the Matter of English Debts and urging a Settlement—King to Troup—Jefferson's Speech well received—English Affairs—Cabot to King—Ellsworth gives a gloomy Account of Europe—Hopes King will not return Home.

R. King to Secretary of State.

No. 10.

London, April 12, 1801.

Dear Sir:

I lose no time in sending you the annexed copies of a letter which I lately wrote to Lord Hawkesbury and of his answer, respecting the seizure of our vessels carrying from the United

States to the Spanish Colonies articles of the growth and manufacture of Spain.

Though I had seen in the American Newspapers frequent accounts of these Depredations upon the Trade, the Decree of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Nassau, in the Case of the Leopard, Ropes Master, was the first Document which I met with, that possessed sufficient precision to enable me to make it the grounds of a Remonstrance.

I take the liberty of suggesting the expediency of publishing these copies in our Newspapers, as the most expeditious means of communicating them to the cruising Ships and Privateers in the American Seas. Having intimated this suggestion to Lord Hawkesbury before he prepared and sent me his answer, there can be no exceptions here against such publication.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

LORD HAWKESBURY TO R. KING.

DOWNING STREET, April 11, 1801.

SIR :

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 13th of last month, and to inform you that in consequence of the Representations contained in it, a Letter has been written, by his Majesty's command, by his Grace the Duke of Portland, to the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of which Letter I herewith inclose to you for the information of the Government of the United States.

I have the honour to be with great truth &c. &c.

HAWKESBURY.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

WHITEHALL,, 30th March, 1801.

MY LORDS :

I transmit to your Lordships herewith a copy of a Decree of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Nassau, condemning the cargo of an American Vessel going from the United States to a Port of the Spanish Colonies ; and the said decree having been referred

to the consideration of the King's Advocate-General, your Lordships will perceive from his Report, an extract of which I inclose, that it is his opinion that the sentence of the Vice-Admiralty Court is erroneous and founded in a misapprehension or misapplication of the Principles laid down in the decision of the High Court of Admiralty referred to, without attending to the limitations therein contained.

In order therefore to put a stop to the inconveniences arising from these erroneous Sentences of these Vice-Admiralty Courts, I have the honour to signify to your Lordships the King's pleasure that a communication of the doctrine laid down in the said Report should be immediately made by your Lordships to the several Judges presiding in them, setting forth what is held to be the Law upon the Subject by the Superior Tribunals for their future guidance and direction.

I am &c.

PORTLAND.

Extract of the Advocate-General's Report dated the 16th March, 1801 :

I have the honour to report that the Sentence of the Vice-Admiralty Court appears to me to be erroneous and to be founded in a misapprehension or misapplication of the Principles laid down in the decision of the Court of Admiralty referred to, without attending to the limitations therein contained.

The general Principle respecting the Colonial Trade has in the course of the present war been to a certain degree relaxed in consideration of the present state of Commerce. It is now distinctly understood, and it has been repeatedly so decided by the High Court of Admiralty and the Court of Appeal, that the Produce of the Colonies of the Enemy may be imported by a Neutral into his own Country, and may be re-exported thence even to the Mother Country of such Colony ; and in like manner the produce and manufactures of the Mother Country may in this circuitous mode legally find their way to the Colonies. The *direct* Trade, however, between the Mother Country and its Colonies has not, I apprehend, been recognised as legal either by his Majesty's Government or by his Tribunals.

What is a *direct* Trade, or what amounts to an *intermediate* importation in the neutral Country, may sometime be a question of some difficulty ; a general definition of either, applicable to all cases, cannot well be laid down. The Question must depend upon the particular circumstances of each case. Perhaps the mere touching in the Neutral Country to take fresh chances may properly be considered as a fraudulent evasion, and is, in effect, the direct Trade ; but the High Court of Admiralty has expressly decided, and I see no reason to expect that the Court of Appeals will vary the rule—that landing the Goods and paying the Duties in the Neutral Country breaks the continuity of the Voyage, and is such an importation as legalizes the Trade, altho' the Goods be re-shipped in the same Vessel, and on account of the same Neutral Proprietor, and be forwarded for sale to the Mother Country or the Colony.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 11.

LONDON, April 14, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

The last mail from Hamburgh brings the news that the English Fleet having passed the Sound without material injury, had taken its Station before Copenhagen. Every measure on the part of the Danish Government is marked with the character of determined hostility. The English Property in Hamburgh and Altona, as well as throughout the Danish Territories is put in a state of sequestration. Prussia has marched troops into, and taken possession of the Electorate of Hanover ; and the confederates seem each to be executing the part which the tenor of the League may have bound them to perform.

At this critical moment a Courier has arrived here from Petersburgh with the news of the sudden death of the Emperor Paul ; and the peaceable accession of his son Alexander to the Throne of Russia. It is said that he is likewise the bearer of Dispatches to the British Government, expressing a desire to reestablish the good understanding which formerly subsisted between the two Countries.

Without pretending to give you any exact information of the measures which this sudden event may have already produced, it

may without rashness be concluded that it will be followed by important changes among which the breaking up of the Northern League (in which Russia, being without a commercial marine, has no direct interest) is likely to be the first. How instructive to America, whom Providence has separated by a friendly Ocean from the ancient world, are these great and endless changes in Europe, and how forcible the admonition which they give us, not to disturb the prosperity and happiness of our Country by political ties which can in no event prove advantageous !

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

April 15th.

P. S. An officer has just arrived with Dispatches from Sir Hyde Parker, with the account of the attack made on the second instant by Lord Nelson, commanding the Van of the English Fleet, upon the Danish Line stationed off Copenhagen, consisting of twenty three ships (seven of which were of the line) and supported by Gun boats and Floating Batteries. The contest was bravely, tho' unskilfully maintained by the Danes ; Eighteen of their Ships, including all the ships of the line, were taken or destroyed with the loss in killed and wounded of 5000. men. On the side of the English the killed and wounded amounted to 600, including in the former two Captains. None of the English Ships, according to this account, were materially damaged. A Truce for four days succeeded to this action, which may be employed in a negotiation that, it is hoped, will put an end to the war with Denmark ; the death of the Emperor of Russia, which is fully confirmed, and the opinion that his successor will adopt a new system of Policy may hasten this desirable result.

R. K.

R. KING TO SIR WILLIAM SCOTT.

MILL HILL, MIDDLESEX, April 15, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

The accounts which we every day receive from America of the irritation and sense of injury which are spreading themselves throughout our commercial towns, occasioned by the vexations of our Trade by the cruising ships and Privateers of G. B. in the

American Seas, make me extremely solicitous that no farther delay should take place in completing the intended reform of the Vice-adm. Courts in the West Indies and Nova Scotia.

In January last I was authorized to inform my Government that their reform had been approved by the King, and from not having foreseen the difficulties which have retarded its execution, I accompanied the information with assurances, which have I fear occasioned expectations in respect to the speedy abolition of the old, and the immediate establishment of the new, Courts that will be greatly disappointed.

I persuade myself that you will excuse my troubling you with this communication, as well on acct. of the importance of the subject, as because it is one much connected with the theories of Public Law which at this time engage the attention of every one, and I shall feel myself particularly obliged to you, if in your power, to inform me how long, according to your view of the Subject, before the new Judges may be expected to be at their stations and ready to open their respective courts.

With very great respect &c

R. K.

WILLIAM STRICKLAND TO R. KING.

YORK, April 15, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I should otherwise have returned you earlier thanks for the copies you have sent me of my own publication; if it prove of any use to your country, my object in some of the remarks I have made in it will be fully answered. . . .

This is a momentous period teeming with the destinies of several countries & with circumstances that may materially affect both yours and mine. We have experienced a change long wanted, rather I suspect in name than in substance. You have had a change of men which may be productive of a change of measures, because principles are imputed to them differing much from those of their predecessors, & there are those who are inclined to anticipate more evils as likely to arise from it, than I can possibly foresee. I am not unacquainted with Mr. Jefferson, & if I can form a correct judgment of his system, he will be desirous of promoting the internal improvement of his country,

and preserving it as much as possible from being entangled with *any European* connections: nobody will contradict the propriety of the first, and few will doubt the propriety of the last; tho' there may be those on this side of the Atlantic who might wish it to be otherwise.

Wishing prosperity to your country & happiness to yourself &c. &c.

I am, dear Sir yours most sincerely & faithfully

WM. STRICKLAND.

FROM R. KING'S MEMORANDUM BOOK.

Apr. 20.

Having understood that Ld. Hawkesbury meant to consult Ld. Grenville, I asked the latter to see me. He received me this morning at Lady Camelsford's. After speaking of the state of politics, I told him that I came to complain that since he left the office of for. affrs., our business, the nature & urgency of wh. he understood better than anyone, had stood still; that I was sensible the subject was new to Ld. Hawkesbury and comprehended more detail than perhaps he had inclination to examine; but that tho' we could offer only good arguments in favour of our opinions respecting the mode of settlement, we had a right to demand an answer, especially as the affairs had been many months under consideration; that I cd. go no farther. I believed fully that I had been authorized to go far enough; that the claim was in fact the remnant of old scores; and moreover that I had no reason to expect that a larger sum wd. be given; that the unsettled state of the business was disadvantageous to both countries, and that an erroneous settlement was better than none. Besides if there were doubts on their side of the sufficiency of the offer, they shd. throw into our scale the just inference arising from the comparison of the conduct of Amer. with that of any other neutral nation. England had subsidized some nations and had been at expense of blood and treasure to defend her own rights agst. the claims of others.

America had stood up in defence of her own rights, had resisted the common danger and had conducted in a manner honourable to herself and friendly to England.

Ld. Grenville said he was ready to admit all I had said;

certainly the conduct of America had been correct and he had not been ten years in office without learning that the creditors wd. be dissatisfied with any settlement wh. even the Eng. Govt. wd. think it quite reasonable to make ; and that as they wd. be dissatisfied by any settlement likely, their mere dissatisfaction must be laid out of the question ; that he wished the business to be closed & would have a conversation to that effect with Ld. Hawkesbury.

It was in this conference that Ld. Grenville, speaking of the armed neutrality, told me that Bernstoff, the father, was opposed to the measure in 1780, and tho' he signed as Min., he immediately gave in a strong paper upon the subject with his resignation. Ld. G. said Sweden had manifested no spirit or zeal since the detention of her Convoy.

It must have been a source of gratification to Mr. King, while so deeply engrossed in the duties of his ministerial office, to receive from Dr. Drury, at Harrow, such accounts of his boys there as were sent to him.

JOSEPH DRURY TO R. KING.

HARROW, 20th April, 1801.

With your permission I will consign your sons to the care of Mr. Henry Drury (as Tutor) who will to the utmost of his power endeavour to fulfil your wishes ; but I hope if your inclination leads you to prefer any other of my coadjutors, you will not hesitate to tell me so, as any such decision on your part can never take from the interest I feel for your truly amiable boys. Indeed there is little merit in such a declaration, as their conduct and disposition must always insure to them the affection of those to whose care they are committed.

I remain, Sir, with great respect &c.

JOSEPH DRURY.

This letter is followed on the 26th of April by one from Mr. Henry Drury, thanking Mr. King for committing his sons to his care, and saying that though he has but slight acquaintance with them, " he is happy to say that from the

character I have always heard from Mr. Kerr (a former Tutor), and the kind terms in which Dr. Drury speaks of them, I have no doubt they will fully justify your expectations.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 13.

LONDON, April 21, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Although the negotiation respecting the Debts is not yet concluded, and I am unable to give you any positive assurance how, or even when, it will be, I have thought it proper that I should avail myself of the opportunity of Mr. Sitgreaves' return to send you a copy of my Correspondence upon this subject, as well as of that which relates to other points that are still under consideration. I am inclined to believe that we should before now have come to a satisfactory conclusion upon the subject of the Debts, had the old Ministry remained in office: their successors profess sentiments respecting our concerns with which we can find little fault; and though they have not given me any official assurances concerning the adjustment of the several points now before them, I might, did not experience teach me that foreign circumstances have their influence in deciding the business of this as well as of other cabinets, infer with some degree of confidence from their language, that our affairs will ultimately be settled upon reasonable principles.

You will, I think, perceive from the tenor of the Correspondence, that I have not been insensible on the one hand to the great disadvantage of the delay which has already taken place, nor on the other to the risque to which a reasonable settlement of our affairs may be exposed by any such material changes as would be likely to alter what appear to be the present views of this Government.

Lord Hawkesbury has more than once informed me that he would attend to our concerns at the first moment after he had extricated himself from the very pressing and critical State of the foreign and domestic affairs; and the Under Secretary, Mr. Hammond, who is almost the only person who has any acquaintance with our affairs, has lately told me that he wished the Ques-

tion of the Debts to be settled on the terms I had offered, and which are mentioned in my No. 6, and I asked that he should so express himself to his Superior.

Mr. Addington, as well while Speaker of the House of Commons as since his late appointment, has uniformly expressed himself to me as well as others in a favourable manner not only in respect to the propriety and justice of the conduct of America during the present war, but of the importance of our Friendship to Great Britain and the policy of removing whatever stood in the way of its continuance ; and in a Conference upon this Subject, which I lately asked of him, he told me that he would act upon those Principles, which he had often avowed to me respecting America, and that as soon as they could get rid of the weight of urgent business which at present bears upon them and which he said would be in a short time, the Questions respecting America should be taken up and decided.

Lord St. Vincent too, whose opinion concerning the impressment of our seamen, I had reason to believe would be of great authority either for or against the proposed article upon that Subject, has explicitly told me that he thought the article a reasonable one, adding at the same time that the general subject both to England and America was full of difficulties, which were becoming more and more important as America advanced in Commerce.

You must not, however, from all this infer that our business will be settled in a way which a wise policy requires that it should be. I think, however, that a Decision cannot be much longer deferred ; and I certainly do give such a degree of credit to the temper which has of late shown itself, and the language which is held respecting America, that I am disposed rather to hope for, than despair of, such a settlement.

The Committee of the Creditors, if consulted as they probably will be upon the terms, will be clamorous against them. But the Government may, notwithstanding be sufficiently wise and firm to decide this Subject upon Principles, not only more just, as they regard its merits, than those which the Committee would recommend, but with views sufficiently comprehensive to render their decisions subservient to the promotion of good will and harmony with their best, and in all respects, most important Customers.

It will not I hope be thought improper that I take this oppor-

tunity to express to you how much I have been obliged to Mr. Sitgreaves for the assistance which he has given to me upon the Subject of the Debts, and my full persuasion, had the negotiation taken the turn which it was expected it would have done, that his information and talents would have enabled us completely to have established the justice of the explanatory article we demanded, and which had become necessary to protect us from the injurious effects of the erroneous construction of the Treaty which had been attempted at Philadelphia.

With perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 14.

LONDON, April 25, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

There seems to have been something mysterious in the conduct of the King of Sweden, who is said to have been at the Fortress of Helsingbourg, opposite to that of Helsinger, when the English Fleet passed the Sound under an incessant, tho', as it turned out to be, a harmless fire of the Danish Batteries : for as the Swedish Forts were silent, the Fleet kept close to the Swedish shore, and passed without being touched even by the Danish Cannon : excepting a few of the leading Ships the English Fleet did not even return the fire.

The action which ensued off Copenhagen was more critical than it was at first represented to have been. The Commander in chief who was in a situation to observe all that passed, after the ships had been several hours hotly engaged, made the signal to call them off ; Nelson, it seems, did not see it, tho' others did ; and by persevering under circumstances of very great difficulty, at length succeeded in destroying the Danish line of defence.

The Armistice for fourteen weeks which has been concluded between the Danish Government and Sir Hyde Parker, has been received here with great coldness, and is said to be not only unauthorized by the Admiral's instructions but directly contrary to them. The avowed object of the Expedition was in the first instance to compel Denmark, by destroying its Fleet and menacing Copenhagen with a Bombardment, to secede from the Confed-

eracy. This is not attained. The Convention will be confirmed, but Sir Hyde Parker will probably be recalled, and the command of the Fleet given to Lord Nelson, who will moreover be raised a degree higher in the Peerage.

The next attack, it is understood, will be upon the Swedish Ships of War at Carlscrona which is represented to be accessible to the English Fleet.

The character and views of the new Emperor of Russia are at present the subject of interesting speculation. Nothing decisive upon these points has yet shewn itself; favourable inferences are, however, drawn from his circular Letter announcing his Father's death, having been sent to this Court; a circumstance it seems unusual between nations at war. Count Woronzow, too, formerly the Russian Envoy here, and whose Estates had been recently sequestered from some unjust and capricious motive of the late Emperor, has been ordered to signify to this Government the new Emperor's desire to re-establish the former friendship between the two Countries, and to add, if England will name an Envoy to Russia, that he shall be authorized to resume his Diplomatic character here. In this posture of affairs, great exertions will be made to detach the Emperor of Russia from the Confederacy, as well as to confirm him in it. The King of Prussia has taken full possession of Hanover notwithstanding it has been constantly paying him money to protect its neutrality; but as it is confidently believed that this step is inconsistent with the views of France, which may treat Prussia with less reserve since the Peace with Austria and the Empire whatever may be the fate of the Electorate, it is not thought probable that the King of Prussia will be permitted to keep it.

The English army effected a landing in Egypt on the 8th of March; the Disembarkation was opposed, and several partial engagements took place between Aboukir and Alexandria from the 8th to the 16th, the date of the last news. We may daily expect farther and more important news from that Quarter. The issue of the contest is doubtful; especially as the army expected from India, thro' the Red Sea, may fail in its co-operation.

I mention these detached facts to prove that the negotiation, which still goes on by courier between Paris and London, must wait for and depend upon, events still undecided in the North,

as well as in the South, and that all conjectures concerning its result must therefore be illusory.

*The King's recovery has not been** complete, *the same remedies have not had the same* effect *as on a* former occasion, *the fever and the delirium having subsided* it was believed *that he would* soon recover, *but by too early* attention to business, *or the news* respecting *Hanover, or perhaps the* nature *of his disease, he has* suffered *a relapse, and tho' not* quite *as ill as he has been, he is so much so as to inspire great, and I believe well* founded, *anxiety lest he should never completely recover: his present state is that of extreme debility. Circumstanced as the Ministers are their* difficulties, as well as those of the country, are much encreased *by this uncertain state of the King's malady.* With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 15.

LONDON, April 26, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Some months ago I received instructions from the Department of State to take measures to procure a quantity of Jewels as a Present to the Bey of Tunis. According to the Estimate which I had previously obtained and sent to the Department of State the articles will cost about Seven Thousand Pounds Sterling. That part of the Presents, which consists of silks and woollen Cloths, to the amount of about a Thousand Pounds, has by my direction been sent to Mr. Eaton, our consul at Tunis, by the House of Mawhood & Co. whom he recommended to me to do this branch of the business, and with whose character I had reason, upon enquiry, to be satisfied. Such of the articles as are strictly Jewelry have been for several months preparing by Rundel & Bridges, and will probably be finished in June, about which time the Guns, Pistols, &c., will also be completed by Mortimer. I have applied directly to the Manufacturers, instead of employing an agent to do so, who would have charged us with a commission. Mawhood & Co. would have allowed a discount of 6 per cent. upon the Silks and Woollens supplied by them for prompt payment; this I could not make, as no funds have been remitted. They will expect payment at the

* Italics in cipher.

expiration of six months from the shipment of the goods; and Rundel & Bridges, as well as Mortimer, will expect payment upon the delivery of the Articles which they are severally preparing. Mawhood & Co. have by my direction insured the goods which they shipped, and, to guard against accidents, I think it will be prudent to insure the residue of the articles when they are sent. My object in making this communication is to recall the subject to the recollection of the Government in order that seasonable and adequate funds may be prepared to defray this expence.

Sometime before Col. Pickering went out of office, he informed me that he should soon remit the usual sums for the Salaries of the Legations to this country and to Prussia, as well as for the Salaries and contingent Expenses of the Commissioners under the 7th Article of the English Treaty, together with a further sum for the Relief and Protection of our Seamen, and to defray the Expences of carrying on those maritime suits, with which the Government had charged itself.

This was not done before Col. Pickering's retirement, and only eighteen hundred pounds have since been remitted from the Department of State. As we now are advanced into the second year since the usual annual Remittances were made, and as, moreover, our accounts have been burthened with advances made to Mr. Ellsworth and Mr. Sitgreaves, our bankers Mess. Bird, Savage & Bird are considerably in advance, and the Proctors, as Mr. Williams informs me, have of late become pressing for the payment of their Bills. With perfect Respect & Esteem &c &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 16.

LONDON, May 1, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Having learned that the law which prohibited our commercial intercourse with France had ceased, and judging that great numbers of our vessels would be immediately cleared out for the different Ports of that country, and probably, among others, for Ports in a State of Blockade, I wrote a note to this effect to Lord Hawkesbury, and requested that immediate instructions should be given to the Commanders of the Cruizers and investing Ships to

warn and turn away, instead of detaining for adjudication such of our vessels as might be met on their way to the Ports of France, which are blockaded by the English forces ; and I yesterday went to Lord St. Vincent to enquire whether these orders have been given. His Lordship informed me that although my Letter had not reached his Department, he thought the request so entirely reasonable, that he would that evening dispatch the requisite orders to comply with it.

From Lord St. Vincent's I went to Lord Hawkesbury, agreeably to his appointment, and upon the Subject which, notwithstanding my unremitted attention bestowed in every quarter likely to promote its progress, has been so long delayed, his Lordship, after expressing his regret that the business had not been settled before Lord Grenville went out of office, and excusing the delay which, on several accounts had since taken place, told me that so far as regarded himself, he had, in respect to the settlement of the affairs of the Debts, come to a decision : that he must however, confer with his colleagues, and particularly with the Lord Chancellor Eldon, but that he was disposed himself to close with the offer, which I had made and which is mentioned in more than one of my Letters. On my suggesting the great disadvantage of further delay, arising from a minute examination of the subject by the Chancellor, he replied that he would have a conversation with him ; and that he presumed that his opinion might be formed from a general view of the Question, and that therefore no considerable delay would be likely to happen.

Upon the other points I have great hopes we shall not experience much difficulty ; but, in the system of this country, there are many and inseparable reasons, why every thing of this sort advances but slowly ; and in the present situation of the Executive Power, these tendencies to delay are considerably encreased.

The reform of the Admiralty Courts, a measure of the greatest importance, and which I expected would have been completed before this Time, has been found more difficult than was at first supposed ; and instead of being effected by mere orders of the Executive Power, as was intended, a Law has been thought necessary and the Bill is now before Parliament. I have had several meetings with Sir William Scott, upon this subject, who is charged with its Execution, and professes to be solicitous that the Reform should give us reasonable and full satisfaction.

I have endeavoured to understand the variety and nature of the Admiralty Process and think, notwithstanding the objection of *innovation*, that the practice of these courts, as well as their Process, will receive some very material improvements. You will see by the Debates of the House of Commons, that both sides unite in the acknowledgment of the great injury we have suffered from the ignorant, vexatious, unjust, and as Mr. Hobhouse called them, corrupt decisions of the West India and Halifax Courts. I shall send you copies of the papers laid before Parliament upon this subject.

It is to the opinion which of late has become general in the House of Commons, respecting the injuries we have sustained from the Depredations upon our Commerce, added to others derived from a comparison of our conduct with that of other neutral nations, that we owe a temper more favourable, than has heretofore existed, with respect to our affairs.

It seems to be generally believed that the late Emperor of Russia suffered a violent death ; the accounts differ only in respect to the agents, and means employed in its execution. The effect of this change upon the Northern League, is not yet fully ascertained. Here it is hoped and believed that it offers an opportunity for mutual explanations which may put an end to further testimony in that Quarter.

Lord St. Helens, formerly Mr. Fitzherbert, who negotiated the American Treaty of Peace, is named for St. Petersburgh ; and the last Packet brought official accounts that Russia and Denmark had receded from their former determination to exclude the English from the North of Germany by closing the Elbe, the Weser and the Ems against them ; and not only that these Ports were again free, but that the prohibitions against the exportation of Corn and Naval Stores from the Ports of Russia and Prussia are also revoked. Exclusive of the Events which have happened in the North, the encreased facilities which the English Trade has lately experienced in the Ports of France and Holland, may have contributed to produce this change of measures.

A Report which arrived yesterday from Paris, but which needs confirmation, states the complete success of Abercrombie in Egypt.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. King to Right Honble. Lord Eldon.

Mill Hill, Middlesex, May 3, 1801.

My Lord :

It is frequently less troublesome for men of business to receive and consider an application by Letter, than to receive the visit of him who makes it ; from this consideration only I am led on the present occasion to prefer this mode, and to trouble your Lordship with the enclosed brief statements of a case of some consequence, which has been the subject of a pretty free discussion between me and his Majesty's Government, and which I have reason to believe awaits only for your Lordship's approbation to be satisfactorily adjusted.

It is quite probable that the Creditors, if consulted, may demand a larger compensation than I am authorized to offer ; but experience has taught me that the expectations of interested Persons can seldom be received as rules of Justice, and never as the grounds of accommodation depending on mutual concession ; the sum we offer is, in our view, a liberal one, considering that the debt still outstanding is the remnant of old scores, and, to use a homely expression, the fag-end of the ancient dealings of the two Countries.

A question like this, and which does not admit of exact proof on either side, seems to be the proper subject of compromise ; I therefore flatter myself that your Lordship will be inclined to recommend a settlement of this long-standing concern, in the only manner it is in my power to propose, and which, upon the most impartial views of it that I have been able to form, appears to me to promise advantages to the Creditors, superior to those they could expect to attain in any other way.

With respect to the renewal of the Commission, exclusive from the lesson derived from the Proceedings of the former Board, I cannot help remarking that this, like many other Projects, which Theory seems to recommend, is found to be of very little value in practice ; arbitrations do well enough in private concerns, and under control of courts of Law, but have rarely succeeded in the affairs of nations, where the Principals are mutually independent.

Were I not satisfied of the justice which we are willing to perform on this occasion, I would ask your Lordship to throw into

the Scale the just influence in our favour, arising from the comparison of our conduct and that of any other Nation during the present war. To some Great Britain has paid subsidies to enable them to exert themselves in their own defence, and against others she has been obliged to incur heavy expences of blood & Treasure for her own security. America alone, among the Neutral States, has borne up against the common Danger, and throughout the War has maintained a Conduct honourable to herself and friendly to the rights of Great Britain.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

FROM R. KING'S MEMORANDUM BOOK.

May 6th. Went to Mr. Addington the Minister, who received me in a friendly manner and told me that he had not been inattentive to our business, that it had been before the Cabinet, that Lord Eldon had read the papers and meant soon to ask me to come and dine and discuss the matter with me : that he had said in the Cabinet that he thought no connexion more important than that of America and that he considered the question of the Debts as the thread upon wh. the amity, by wh. I mean he added to me the good humour and friendly intercourse of the two Countries in a considerable degree depended.

That his Colleagues, he believed, viewed the subject in a favourable light and that he hoped it wd. soon be settled ; that I shd. find the Chancellor a very different man from his Predecessor, who he said would have been willing to have remained with him in office ; but as he had no absolutely fixed character, and was a person to whom he cd. not act in that entirely unreserved way that he knew he cd. do, with the certainty of a full and honest reciprocity, with Lord Eldon, he had preferred the latter and declined the former Chancellor's services.

Speaking of the Prize Courts he expressed his hope that the West Ind. Courts wd. be put on a satisfactory footing ; and that with regard to the Court of Appeals he was determined to have a certain number of persons, who shd. make it a business. . . .

Of politics he said they hoped for peace ; that neither success nor adversity wd. change their wishes. Moderate and reasonable in their views, they should not enhance their demands, nor de-

part from what their own safety & honour required; that in respect to the negotiation, they seemed perpetually approaching without being any nearer; but that this was intelligible enough & had respect to Egypt and the North. The public knew all they knew from Egypt, & with regard to the North he was not without expectation that things wd. attain a more satisfactory situation.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

LONDON, May 9, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

It is nearly two months since we have received any political news from America: indeed we scarcely know anything which has passed since the completion of the Presidential Election. At first and by the help of Porcupine (who by the by is going very fast out of repute, having been entirely cast off from those governmental sources of information which he at first boasted of,) a considerable sensation was excited and many people believed there would be a war with America; in a little time these fears have vanished, and the speech of Mr. Jefferson has been very generally well received. The new ministry act with much moderation, profess to be in earnest for Peace, and openly avow that neither success nor disappointment shall change their views upon this interesting subject.

Some measures of justice towards us have been adopted, and I entertain considerable hopes that our affairs will at last be satisfactorily adjusted.

The King's health is still critical, and he continues to be unable to enter into the current of Business. The affairs of the North, I mean the Controversy about the armed neutrality, will according to present appearances be settled; from Egypt we are in daily expectation of intelligence which will prove decisive of the success or failure of Abercrombie's Expedition. The negotiation for Peace, which still goes on, tho' like the asymptotes continually approaching without meeting, will then be brought to a conclusion.

With great truth very sincerely, &c.

R. K.

G. Cabot to R. King.

May 10, 1801.

My dear Sir :

I have enclosed you under a blank cover two of my speculations on the tendency of the new doctrine set up for Neutrals. Whether I am so fortunate as to convince others or not I certainly am convinced myself of the truth which I attempt to maintain—I wish you to examine Americanus No. 4 & if you think any part unsound to suggest it to me.

Brother Ellsworth gives us a frightful picture of Europe & a discouraging one of England. I am inclined to allow a little influence from peculiar circumstances & ill health upon his strong mind but am obliged to confess I am alarmed lest England shou'd be induced to yield too much. . . . Govr. Strong is re-elected as well as Gilman & Trumbull, but we deteriorate in our politics in New England notwithstanding these favorable events—our legislature will certainly be worse composed than it has been for many years & *may perhaps* be absolutely jacobinical. Rhode Island is as bad as it was in 87 & 88. We are anxious for New York where Hamilton has made great & brilliant efforts in favor of Rensselaer ; our reports are favorable but by no means satisfactory. It was thought by some well informed men that a certain Diplomatic Character abroad might have been carried with certainty had he been on the spot. I wish him the honor & the public the benefit when he returns, but I am persuaded his services are more important where he now is. I am not well pleased to hear that you are disposed to return & I hope you will find motives to postpone it one year longer at least. My prayer is, & not without hope, that the British Sun will shine brighter & in this I am patriotic as well as pious ; for altho' I am frequently irritated as well as others at the injuries we suffer in their Colonial dominions, yet I am unwavering in my belief that the Naval superiority of G. B. is the best security against the power & domineering spirit of France.

We are still quiet & shall remain so—at least we ought to—Jefferson will experience no opposition & of course will be more circumspect—if his party are angry they will support him in any thing, but if the Country is cool it will be requisite that the administration furnish no strong & obvious ground for complaint.

Ellsworth is in better health than I expected to see him.—I last evening received a letter from you of the 8th of March which tho' not so late as our Newspapers by three weeks contained some information & some sentiments which give me pleasure. I had two days before received one of the 4th of March. The demand of Neutrals, or of others in their name, is so *absurd* that in this country where it has been always popular with most of our great men & all others it is growing daily into discredit.

Yours affectionately & faithfully

G. C.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Vargas to King—Cession of Louisiana to France Result of Volney's Suggestions—Possibly to be used as a Compensation to the United States for Indemities demanded—Lord Buchan to King—Life of General Washington—A. Stephens to King—Wishes to write a Life—Has Lord Buchan's and others' Papers—King to Secretary of State—United States Frigates in the Mediterranean may check Insolence of Barbary States—To Lord Eldon—Urges warmly the Resumption and Settlement of American Affairs—To Secretary of State—Admiral Parker ordered Home—Bill for Vice-Admiralty Courts in America—Sir W. Scott to King—Glad he approves the Bill—Troup to King—Democracy triumphs—Gallatin Secretary of Treasury—An Outrage—Sedgwick to King—Presidential Election—Preferred Burr, who could not administer Government without federal Aid, which he could only get by preserving their System—Jefferson's Principles absolutely opposed to them—Hence Burr supported—Jefferson's Speech the Result of his Timidity—His Followers disgusted—His Attachment to his Friends shown by violent Removals from lucrative Offices—Cabot to King—Regrets he is disposed to resign—His Opinions have generally coincided with those of his Friends at Home—Troup to King—Lands look up—New York prospering—Jefferson's Removals from Office—Burr—Marriage of his Daughter—Hamilton's small Charges—Edward Livingston's Appointment.

M. Vargas to R. King.

Londres, 10 Mai, 1801.

Monsieur :

A mon depart de Paris, il y a plus d'un mois, Mr. Smith me chargea de vous communiquer quelques idées relatives aux Et. Unis de l' Amérique, dont les details sont ci-adjoints dans un papier separé. Quelques accidens, et une maladie assez grave m'ont empeché d'arriver ici plus tot. A peine l'ai je fait que je me suis rendu chez vous ; mais sachant que vous étiez à la campagne, et ne pouvant m'y transporter, j'ai l'honneur de vous addresser,

Monsieur, cette lettre avec la note ci-adjointe. Je serais trop heureux si elle peut remplir encore les vues de Mr. Smith.

En attendant je suis avec le plus profond respect, Monsieur, votre très humble Serviteur

P. VARGAS.

Reservée.

Mr. Smith ayant sçu la nouvelle de la cession de la Louisiane à la France, s'est empressé de la communiquer á Mr. King par le moyen de Mr. Shober, qui etait sur le point de venir en Angleterre. Mr. Smith ayant eu une occasion casuelle de parler au Citoyen Volney sur les affaires de l'Amérique, celui-ci lui a fait quelques observations générales sur la disposition des habitans d'au dela des Apalaches pour se rendre indépendant du reste des Etats-Unis ; mais qu'il ne paroissait pas nullement disposé a croire que la France devoit s'en immiscer. Cependant tout le monde s'accord à dire que c'est en conséquence du plan de Volney que la France a demandé à l'Espagne la cession de la Louisiane.

Il parait que le resultat du dit plan doit être la compensation en propriétés territoriáles à ceux des émigrés qui ont perdu les siennes en Europe, par suite de la revolution—Moyen de les éloigner et de les tranquilliser. En outre de ça l'exportation de planches, goudron, &c, pour les services de la marine française.

Ce sont les bruits publics, mais on croit que, sous main, l'idée est de tenir en echec l'accroissement de la République Américaine, et peut-être de bouleverser les Etats du Sud en ebraulant la fidelité des negres, &ca.

Mr. Smith a cru que étant un des Américains, ou peut-être le seul des Américains, plus en contact avec ceux qui approchent le gouvernement français, a cru qu'il était de son devoir de faire quelques efforts particuliers pour empecher l'establissement de ce nouveau voisin en Amérique.

A cet effet il y a en quelques conférences avec Mess. Lafayette et Dupont qui ont vu avec peine les idées du Gouvernement français et qui ont promis à M. Smith de le seconder par le moyen de Joseph Bonaparte dont ils ont quelque confiance, et à qui ils ont convenu de le presenter.

Mr. Smith avait redigé en consequence un memoire tres succint dont le sens etait, "qu'il était impolitique, apres les plaintes

recentes des Et. Unis et après la conclusion d'un traité, d'alarmer de nouveau le gouvernement Américain qui reposait tranquille sur la trempe pacifique de l'Espagne, et dont le voisinage ne causait le moindre inquiétude qu'on voyait deja dans cette demarche un germe de soupçon et peut-être de querelle entre les deux Rep. qui obligerait celle de l'Amérique á reserver ses liens avec Angleterre. Qu'il y avait un moyen de tranquilliser les E. U. en leur donnat, comme objet de compensation des indemnités demandées, la possession de la Louisiane, dont l'acquisition pour la france était si peu de chose relativement aux objets de marine, et dont les vues pouvaient être bien remplis par rapport aux émigrés, lesquels pouvaient être aussi heureux comme sujets de l'Amérique que de la france." Ce memoire devait être lu à Joseph Bonaparte sous peu de tems.

C'était l'état des choses à mon depart. Mr. Smith veut que Mr. King soit adverti, en outre, que le Général Collaud devait passer incognito aux Et. U. pour se rendre par terre à la Louisiane pour y attendre une escadre avec 4000 grenadiers qui partira de Brest pour prendre possession de ce pays lá.

Si Mr. King veut empêcher les idées ambitieuses de la france, il peut faire ses observations à Mr. Otto dans l'intervalle que l'Amérique envoye au Agent en france. Mr. Smith craint d'autant plus le resultat de cette affaire que le gouvernement actuel de la france, est tres populaire, ce qui n'etait pas le cas en tems du Directoire.

Mais il laisse à la considération de Mr. King si cette nouvelle pourra produire quelque bon effet relativement à l'indépendance de l'Amérique meridionale, car alors tout est dit, c'est le grand plan auquel tous les autres doivent ceder.

Lord Buchan to R. King.

Dryburgh Abbey, May 12th, 1801.

Sir:

I am desirous that the example of my late honoured and illustrious kinsman and Friend General Washington may be rendered as beneficial as possible not only to his own country and Nation, but to the world at large, and with this view I have encouraged Mr. Stephens of Chelsea, a respectable countryman of mine, to

compile such materials for writing the life of the General as he may be able to obtain, and as may tend to produce the good of Society as well as the display of Mr. Washington's Virtues which are very dear to me.

By the letter which I have written to Mr. Stephens on this subject, and which I have desired him to communicate to you, you will see what it is I have in view, and that I suppose it more probable the work would be cleaner wash'd from party & prejudice by being in the hands of a distant Philosopher & Scholar than in those of even the equally competent to write on the other side of the Atlantic. I am sir with much regard & due respect

Yr. obedt. hble. Servt.

BUCHAN.

American Minister at London.

ALEXANDER STEPHENS TO R. KING.

12 SOUTH PARADE, QUEEN'S ELM, CHELSEA, May 26, 1801.

SIR:

I have the honour to enclose you a letter from the Earl of Buchan, an accomplished Nobleman, who has dedicated his life to literature & deems himself peculiarly fortunate in having enjoyed the friendship and correspondence of your illustrious Countryman General Washington.

I also aspire, Sir, to write the life of the late President of the United States,* and my principles can scarcely be misconceived, when it is mentioned, that I declined, although an officer, to serve against America, while gloriously contending for her just rights.

Lord Buchan has presented me with General Washington's correspondence with him, & other Noblemen & Gentlemen have evinced the utmost readiness in serving me. It is my wish to apply to you, Sir, & through you, to Mrs. Washington, for additional information & materials; for this purpose I shall pay my respects to you in person & in the meantime I have the honour to be

Your Most Humble & Obedient Servant

ALEXANDER STEPHENS.

His Excellency RUFUS KING, Esq.

* There is no answer to these letters, nor does it appear that such a Life was written.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 17.

LONDON, May 15, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

Lord St. Helens has sailed for Petersburgh, to which Capitol Duroc, aid-du-Camp of the Chief Consul is likewise on his way. From some recent communications which the Emperor of Russia is said to have made at Copenhagen upon the subject of the Northern Confederacy, it does not seem to be certain that Lord St. Helens may not meet with greater difficulties than was at first expected ; the influence of France will be exerted to defeat his views, and as Russia is supposed to take an interest in the Indemnities to be made in Germany, in the settlement of which France will have something to say, as well as in the re-establishment of the King of Sardinia and the security of the South of Italy, objects which depend entirely upon the will of France, this influence will be very considerable.

The Battle of the 21st of March, in which the English were victorious, though they lost their Commander in Chief, it is here believed will enable them with the reinforcements which they will receive to expel the French from Egypt.

We have a rumour which I wish may prove to be well founded that several of our Frigates are on their passage to the Mediterranean, where our Commerce, according to Mr. Cathcart's information, is again exposed to the Piracies of Tripoli ; by blockading that Port and cutting off its Commerce, the Bey may find it his interest to become more reasonable, and the example would have a beneficial influence upon the other Barbary States.

A Sabre which was sent to me by Mr. Smith several months ago, to be mounted according to a model furnished by the Bey of Tunis, is completed ; it costs £370. sterling, and I will endeavour to find an opportunity to send it to Malta to the care of some English Officer there, to be delivered to the Commander of any American Frigate which may call at Malta to forward to Mr. Eaton by a safe conveyance from Malta to Tunis.

The arms and Jewels which are preparing likewise, as a Present to the Bey of Tunis, may perhaps be forwarded to Malta by an English Frigate to be disposed of in like manner as the Sabre. If they go by a private vessel, I shall order them to be insured, a precaution that will be omitted, if they are sent by a Frigate.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD ELDON.

MILL HILL, MIDDLESEX, May 18, 1801.

MY LORD :

I have had the honour to receive your Lordship's obliging Letter of the 7th instant and should not so soon think of recalling to your recollection the subject to which it relates, were I not strongly impressed with the impolicy of any farther delay in bringing it to a conclusion. It is now more than two years since this negotiation was begun, and upwards of six months that the specific propositions, which your Lordship has lately received, have been before his Majesty's Government. Lord Grenville gave me reason to expect that this business would have been adjusted during the Christmas holidays, and the communication which I made to my Government corresponded with this expectation; tho' I have been fully aware of the disadvantages, which we have suffered from the unsettled state of this negotiation, I have respected the urgent engagements of his Majesty's ministers, in the belief, that the affairs of America would be taken up and decided when the pressure of other public business had a little subsided.

The favourable changes which have of late occurred, seem to me to offer the occasion we have been waiting for, and I cannot help thinking that our turn has in fact arrived; should your Lordship think so likewise, I am persuaded that our negotiation may be speedily and satisfactorily concluded.

With the highest respect &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 18.

LONDON, 19 May, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

Though Captain Pellew of the English Frigate Cleopatra was recalled, as I sometime ago informed you, Admiral Parker who commands on the Halifax Station, and whose conduct has in other instances been exceptionable in not restraining the plundering spirit of the Officers under his command, permitted him to proceed to the West Indies instead of returning to England. For this disobedience, joined to the persuasion that he has participated too much in the avaricious passions of his subordinate

officers, the Admiral also is ordered home; and the command upon that station will devolve upon Captain Douglass. Orders have followed Pellew to the West Indies to return to England.

Enclosed I send you a Copy of the Bill concerning the English Vice-Admiralty Courts in America. If you have ever attended to the proceedings of these Courts and those of the Court of Appeals, you will find that the Bill will work a very important Reform. I am endeavouring to procure the addition of two other regulations; one requiring that all detained vessels be sent into the Islands where the Courts are established; that the proceeds of captured vessels shall in no instance go into the hands of the Captors or their Agents, until it shall have been definitely adjudged to belong to them as good Prize. The former Regulation would prevent the delay and expense of sending the ship's papers or their copies from one Island to another; the latter would destroy the motives of the captors to defer the trial, in order to enjoy the use of the Property; and both would operate to discourage the Privateers of Bermuda, the Bahamas and other Islands which lose their Courts of Vice-Admiralty.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c &c

RUFUS KING.

SIR WM. SCOTT TO R. KING.

May 21, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am glad you approve the Bill (for the Regulation of the Vice-Admiralty Courts) generally. It is my sincere wish that it may be such as on a fair and dispassionate consideration between the countries you wd. approve.

I can assure you that I expressed in our last conversation my own *favorite* idea that the Cruizers might be compelled to carry in their Prizes to those Islands only, where the Jurisdiction is established. I hope I am not violating official Confidence when I say Mr. Nepean can inform you with what Ardour I preferred it, and how I entered my Protest against the danger & Inconveniences that may ensue, when I was finally & determinedly assured that the Exigencies of the Public Naval Service would in no degree admit of it. It is solely on *your account* that I was anxious to obtain a different Rule to be adopted; I dread the

Hazard of Constitutional Questions between us and the disinherited Colonies. But you will be so good as to remember that all I have to do, is to represent 'or (perhaps) *remonstrate* to Government, and after they have taken their Resolution, to carry it into effect in the best manner I am able.

Your Intimation respecting Sales of Cargoes shall be taken into honest & deliberate Consideration before the Bill goes into Committee. I thank you very much for your American News.

I am, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

W. SCOTT.

The Bill is read a 2nd time tomorrow (friday)—and will be then ordered for the Committee against I come to town from visiting my Constituents at Oxford during the Holiday week, being my only opportunity of paying my Respects to them upon my election.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 22 May, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Democracy has obtained at our late election a complete triumph over us. The revolution in the public mind has even astonished the leaders of that party. Clinton will be our Governor by a decided majority. In this city we failed in getting a majority of even freehold votes ; a thing that has never happened before.

Gallatin is at length officially announced to us as Secretary of the Treasury—an appointment by all virtuous and enlightened men amongst us considered as a violent outrage on the virtue and respectability of our country ; you know his history. . . .

Yrs. R. T.

T. SEDGWICK TO R. KING.

STOCKBRIDGE, 24 May, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR :

I have recd. a letter from you without date or signature.—I wrote to you at the commencement and at the close of the last session. With the last I wrote also to Messrs. Gore and Sitgreaves.*

* This letter is not found.

If these letters, which went by a Merchant ship from Phila. should have miscarried I shall regret it, because they contained an exposition of the motives which governed the federalists during the session, and particularly in the election of a President.

You know my opinion of the two candidates, and it was not suddenly that I determined which to prefer. It was evident that Burr did not possess the confidence of his own party, & that he was selected as a candidate, not from affection, but because it was supposed his influence was indispensably necessary to secure the votes of the electors of New York, which votes, it was foreseen, were essential to their success. When it was known that he had acquired an equal number of votes with Mr. Jefferson the party did not conceal, nor attempt to conceal, their disgust and aversion. Of this Burr could not be ignorant and hence it was believed, that he would be sensible of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of administering the government without federal aid ; and this he could not expect to receive without giving his support to the preservation of those systems which the federalists thought necessary for the public prosperity. On the other hand Jefferson was believed to be a sincere Democrat—hostile to the principles of our constitution, and the measures of the administration—desirous of conforming in practice to the imbecile principles of the old confederation, a confederation whose measures would be directed by the arrogance of Virginia aided by those states which looked up to her with servile submission. It was believed that he had given evidence of an entire devotion to france under every form of her government, and that under the dominion of this political passion, aided by a rancorous hatred to G. B., he might involve the country in war with the latter, & what is worse form an intimate and subordinate connection with the former. We knew, possessing as he did the full confidence of his party, he had means, which his rival wanted, to carry into effect mischievous designs which he might entertain. On the other hand Burr was secured against the evils resulting from local or personal attachments or aversions, being guarded by his selfishness against them. I cannot go into a detail of the reasonings which produced a unanimous determination among the federalists of the house to support Mr. Burr. The above hints may afford materials for your reflections on this subject. It would be still more beyond my power to give you an

intelligible relation of those untoward events by which our intentions were defeated—I am, indeed, restrained from doing it by other considerations than merely that the relation, by its length, would fatigue me and disgust you. When I see you and I hope I shall enjoy that pleasure it shall be the occupation of a leisure morning or evening.

The conciliatory speech of Mr. Jefferson at the time of his inauguration was the effect which the strong opposition made, by the federalists, to his election, produced from his timidity. When to him Burr was preferred by all, and when the greater part to the last would risk every consequence rather than he should be President, he was sensible that the federal mind contemplated that event with horror. Hence he was disposed to conciliate and to soothe ; and hence he spoke of federal measures & federal men with respect. This disgusted, beyond expression, the leaders of his own party ; because it gave the lie to all those slanderous misrepresentations by which his election had been secured. To reinstate himself in their good graces it was necessary to give serious proof of his attachment, and this he has done by the most violent removals from offices which are lucrative to the federal possessors and filling them with furious democrats. The wit of man could probably devise no measure more fitted to render party animosities incurable. This is " healing the wounds of party divisions " with a witness.

The federalists in the state of New York were confident that they should elect Mr. Van Rensselaer as Governor, but they now confess that Clinton is chosen by a great majority. The system of general expulsion, first instituted by McKean, will be there practised with rigor. That we have succeeded in choosing Mr. Strong in this state is a fortunate event, and beyond the expectation of many of his friends. At all events we shall remain tolerably safe another year. Indeed in my opinion the federal party is here, at present, rather increasing. In this County, at the late election of a member of Congress, Bacon had a majority of more than 900. This was the beginning of March. In April the majority for Gerry, & there never was a more strenuous effort made, was less than 200.

At the time I declined being a candidate to the House of Representatives, I had not the least doubt that Mr. Williams the federa

candidate would have been elected. Had I foreseen the event which has taken place I would not have declined. Yet nothing could have been more painful to me than to have continued longer a member of Congress, excepting exactly what has taken place.

An effort has been made in Connecticut to displace our old friend Governor Trumbull, but from all accounts I am confident that his majority was never so great. That is the only state where the election of Jefferson has decreased the influence of his friends and the number of his party. Should, however, the Democrats get possession of the government of Massachusetts I have no doubt that soon all New England will follow her example.

I am sincerely & affectionately yours,

T S.

G. Cabot to R. King.

May 25, 1801.

My dear Sir:

. . . We all regret that you are disposed to leave your office. Altho' a majority thinks wrong upon the subject yet our best men are more decided than ever in their opinion that this Country has a great interest in the success of England against France. Men are compelled to see that England alone has resisted the most terrible power that ever appeared & has prevented the final overthrow of whatever is good to society. . . . Jacobinism gains ground in the U. S. & threatens New England with its missive. Already I hear *many* men complain that our systems must be purged of their excessive democratic characters or we shall be ruined. I shall tell Ames of T. Paine's unhappy fate but I don't believe he will take warning. I have no doubt he will consent that you shou'd cross the channel in full expectation that if you leave your good sense behind you, you will resume it upon your return. It has been among our few consolations to find that your opinions have *in the main* perfectly coincided with ours thro' a period in which we have been sometimes supported by too few on this side the water. I have said "*in the main*" because possibly local causes may for a moment have prevented us from seeing an object in the same light. The affairs of Nations often appear

best when seen from a distant position ; you may therefore have thought our condition better & that of England worse than we have thought them. Whether the British Nation is so organised as to use all its means is a difficult question to solve, but if it can I am persuaded it can continue the war *without impoverishment* until its Enemies wou'd of necessity make a safe peace.

Yours truly

G. C.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, May 27, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Governor Jay goes out of his office much gratified. We have taken pains, by public expressions of our gratitude for his services, to sweeten his recollection of his political life. At the same time it is conceded by all his friends that his reputation has not gained by the administration of the government. . . .

Lands by the by begin to look up. Last week 100 acre military lots were sold at auction for 20 percent down and the residue in 30 days for 14/ per acre; and Genessee lands, the quality of which was not known were sold for 7/3 and 7/7 on the same terms. The country is filling up fast and wheat for two years past has been fluctuating from 13/ to 18/ a bushel. Go where you will, you behold nothing but the smiling face of improvements and prosperity. This City is still progressing with astonishing rapidity ! Upon your return you will be agreeably surprised to see the change for the better during your absence. Broadway now presents one of the most delightful spectacles in all probability in the world ! The walks on both sides are pretty generally planted with trees. All the vacant lots are filled up (except one) with handsome houses ; and the open and extensive view of the water charms me whenever I step from my door. It seems against all calculations that such a situation should be a hotbed for the yellow fever. At present I discover no apprehensions even that this dreadful scourge is again to visit us this season. . . .

We all believe that it is not Mr. Jefferson's present plan to supersede you. Mr. Morris seems confident he will not do it. And

yet the course thus far pursued by Mr. Jefferson with regard to removals has strong marks of an entire devotion to party.

No doubt is entertained that the next House of Representatives will be democratic, and it is believed by many that the Senate is now poised and that Burr will of course decide the majority. If this be not the case, it is very nearly so. I see nothing, therefore, to prevent Jefferson and his democratic friends from having the complete possession of the general government, and I am content that their skill and patriotism should be put to the test. The Chancellor expects soon to embark for France. . . . His quitting the Court of Chancery is a comfortable relief to us! He is now so deaf that, as a judge, he may be truly said to be deaf to the voice of Justice! With all my bawling I could hardly make him hear me. At Buonaparte's table his situation must be delightful to himself and the company. One of his sons will be obliged constantly to sit alongside of him and cry out, Mr. Livingston—Mr. Livingston—Mr. Livingston! Citizen sans culottes speaks to you! . . .

The citizen Vice-President is still among us. He has been going for near a month to Charleston to see his daughter, who last winter married a Mr. Allston—a young Carolinian of large fortune. His person is ordinary—his manner pedantic—his temper not very soft—his politics violent on the democratic side—and his opinions savor much of the conceit and imperiousness of the old dominion. It is understood here that the marriage was an affair of Burr, and not of his daughter, and that the money in question was the predominating motive. Mrs. Allston is a handsome round faced and black eyed woman, but much under size. Her acquaintance say her reading has been wholly masculine, that she is an utter stranger to the use of the needle, and quite unskilled in the different branches of domestic economy.

Burr is an enigma that we cannot decypher. His present office has drawn him from the Bar, where his practice (from the enormous fees he was accustomed to take) was very lucrative; and no person doubts that his salary does not pay the interest of the money he owes. As a proof of his enormous charging as a lawyer, I give you the following instance. In the famous case of Le Guen vs. Gouverneur Kemble, he was assistant counsel with Hamilton, who was the leading counsel and whose talents and

influence we all know pushed the cause through. Hamilton* would take no more than $2500 for his services, and Burr (having got previous loans from the Frenchman) worked him out of about $6000.

We are told and we believe that Jefferson and he hate each other ; and Hamilton thinks that Jefferson is too cunning to be outwitted by him. At the breaking up of Congress in the spring, Burr told a member, a friend of ours, that Jefferson had not consulted him on the subject of appointments or measures and he hoped he would not. And yet it is difficult to account for the appointment of Swartwout to the office of Marshall of this district, but through the influence of Burr with Jefferson. Swartwout is notoriously the runner and tool of Burr on all occasions, but is not generally known even in this City. How could he have been known to Jefferson unless by Burr's recommendation ?

It was generally supposed that Burr had a hand in Edward Livingston's appointment to the office of District Attorney in the place of Harrison, as Livingston was doubtless one of Burr's confidential agents to manœuvre him into the Presidency. But the member of Congress above alluded to is of opinion that Livingston's appointment was a part of the price given to purchase Livingston's vote for Jefferson's election. He adds that if Livingston had not betrayed his trust, Burr would certainly have been President.

. . . The truth is that, independent of other considerations the Chancellor wrote a very peremptory letter to his brother Edward on the subject of an alarm which Hamilton gave the Chancellor for the purpose. Pains were taken to inform Jefferson of the plots and manœuvres against him, and hence it is concluded that there is, and can be, no cordiality between them.

Jefferson told the member of Congress referred to that it was his determination to make no displacements ; but that when vacancies occurred, he should fill up with his friends till the scales of office were poised ; and then he should give an equal

* Le désinteressement en matière d'argent, rare partout, plus rare en Amérique, est un des traits les plus universellement reconnus du caractère de M. Hamilton et quoique sa profession actuelle soit très-lucrative. J'entends dire a ses clients que leur seule contestation avec lui est sur la modicité des honoraires qu'il leur demande.—*Voyages dans les Etats Unis d'Amérique*, vol. vii., 150. Par La Rochefoucauld Liancourt.

hand to both parties. This decision has been grossly departed from as I have already shewn.

Jefferson's inaugural speech has had a wonderful lullaby effect. I do not apprehend the serious mischiefs from his administration that have been foretold; but my opinion is, that it will be the little contemptible thing that grows of a trimming system and a studied adherence to popular notions. Hamilton is persuaded that neither Jefferson nor his friends have sufficient skill or patriotism to conduct the political vessel in the tempestuous sea of liberty. Since the V. President's return from Washington, after the adjournment of Congress, I have been to pay my respects to him and he has returned the visit. . . He told me that the members of Congress were so dissatisfied with their accommodations at Washington the last winter, that they were within an ace of adjourning to this city; and he thinks nothing prevented the measure but the address of Mrs. Law and a few other ladies who reside at Washington. Mr. Jefferson, however, is doing every thing he can to induce a continuance of the government at Washington, and I presume he will succeed. Prodigious clamors are made against the place! . . .

Adieu,

R. T.

P. S. A squadron is now on the point of sailing under Cap. Dale from Hampton Roads for the Mediterranean in quest of the Algerines. Truxton was to have had the command of the squadron, but it is said he would not consent to go without having leave to fight if he saw fit, and without having his vessels better manned.

We have a new President of our College in this City. He is a Dr. Wharton, an episcopal clergyman settled at Burlington in Jersey. He was bred a Jesuit, and some years ago renounced the Roman Catholic faith. He is of the Carrol family in Maryland. I hear him spoken of as an excellent scholar and as a man of genteel manners. Dr. Johnson left the college about a year ago under embarrassments arising from the land speculations of his sons. These embarrassments are said to continue. He is again settled in Connecticut.

Mr. King's Memorandum Book.

May 24.

I suggested to him (Mr. Addington) the aid of England might be given to us with the Barbary Powers by her influence with them as well as with the Porte—He expressed a disposition to afford us their aid, said our frigates shd. be supplied at Malta, Minorca & Gib., shewed me a letter just received from Sir Wm. Pulteney advising great moderation towards America and the sending thither an *Ambassador* with a large salary. Mr. Addington asked me if such a measure wd. disserve England. I answered not if the character was a fit one, &c. . . .

CHAPTER XXXII.

King to Addington—Complaint of Abuses to American Vessels brought into English Ports—To Lord Hawkesbury—Illegal Proceedings in Vice-Admiralty Court in Gibraltar—King to Secretary of State—Question of Debts in the Cabinet—Addington's liberal Views on this and other pending Matters—Hopes of a speedy Decision on them—King to Troup—Peace the earnest Wish of Ministers—Probable Convention limiting the Right of Search—To Secretary of State—Letter from Lord Hawkesbury Relative to Depredations in West Indies—Conference, among other Topics, on Cession of Louisiana to France—His strong Feeling against it—We preferred it in the Hands of Spain or transferred to United States—Report of King's Advocate on Vice-Admiralty Courts—King to Secretary of State—The King attends to Business—Affairs in Egypt—Probable Peace between England and Northern Powers—Threatened French Invasion of England—Harvests good—King to Lord Hawkesbury—By President's Direction he presses the Settlement of the Reform of the Prize Courts in West Indies—H. Lee to King—Expressions of Friendship and Regard—Begins to doubt Jefferson's professed Moderation—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Demands the Discharge of an American Shipmaster because not liable for Charge against him in an English Court—To Lord Eldon—Asking if he has given, as promised, his Opinions on the Debts, etc.—To Lord Hawkesbury about Cunningham the American Shipmaster—Bird, Savage, and Bird to King—General Allen's Affairs—King to Addington—Urging him to bring the Questions pending before the Cabinet—To the Secretary of State—Parliament prorogued—Law regulating Prize Courts passed—French Government may not ratify the Convention with United States.

R. King to J. H. Addington, Esq.

Great Cumberland Place, May 26, 1801.

Sir :

I take the liberty through you to represent to the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury the abuse, which has of late become frequent in the Ports of England, and especially at Portsmouth,

of obliging vessels detained and sent into Port by his Majesty's Cruizers upon frivolous pretences, and which are afterwards released, to pay the Light and Tonnage Duties payable only by vessels which voluntarily and for purposes of business enter the ports of England. The interruption of such vessels in their regular voyages is attended with very considerable losses, which on many occasions, ought to be, though they very rarely are, compensated by their Captors. But the injury is enhanced by the demand of Duties, which upon no principle of justice should be made in cases so circumstanced.

The American Cartel Ship, Benjamin Franklin, detained and sent into Portsmouth by his Majesty's Ship the Loire, and upon my application discharged by the Lords of the Admiralty, has as you will perceive by the enclosed communication, made to me by Mr Villers the Supercargo, been recently compelled to submit to these unreasonable Demands.

I beg the favour of you, Sir, to lay this complaint before the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, in the persuasion that their Lordships will adopt such measures as may be deemed efficacious to put an end to these exactions in future.

With perfect Respect &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD HAWKESBURY.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, May 26, 1801.

MY LORD :

It is my duty to represent to your Lordship the irregular and injurious proceedings of his Majesty's Judge of Vice-Admiralty at Gibraltar, in holding trials on American property not within the jurisdiction of his Court ; as well as to complain of the long and oppressive detention of American Vessels captured by the public and private armed ships of Great Britain, and sent into the Port of Lisbon.

The enclosed Protest of the Master of the American Brigatine Susannah, exhibits one of the several instances which have occurred of this double irregularity.

The Susannah was taken in the bay of Cadiz by the Privateer

La Mouche, Robert Blair Commander, and sent into the Port of Lisbon, where she was detained upwards of five months, and during such detention tried and condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Gibraltar.

Upon every known principle upon which civil Law Courts proceed this trial was irregular, the vessel not being within or subject to the jurisdiction of the Court ; and it is not obvious how this proceeding can be materially distinguished from the irregularity, which during the present war has been practised by another Belligerent Power, and against which Great Britain justly and efficaciously remonstrated, that of erecting Prize Courts within the territorial jurisdiction of Neutral States ; for it must be indifferent in respect to the acknowledged principles applicable to this subject, as well as to those whose property may be affected, whether the tribunal is carried by fiction to the thing concerning which it may adjudicate, or the thing is brought by a like fiction to the tribunal.

The ancient law of Europe, and the observance of which protected the mutual independence, as well as the peace of nations, made it necessary that property taken as prize on the high seas, should be carried for adjudication within the territory of the nation to which the captor belonged ; and if this rule, doubtless founded in public reason, was universally observed in former centuries, how much more necessary has it become vigorously to enforce it in modern times, when Commerce is so widely extended and the security of its Rights forms so important a branch of the essential Duty of every nation.

It is not the violation of a barren Right against which the Representation is aimed ; the injury complained of is accompanied by positive and very considerable Damages. The Government of Portugal declines all interference in respect to vessels in this situation ; and as neither the High Court of Admiralty nor the Vice-Admiralty Court at Gibraltar possesses any jurisdiction over property within the Dominions of Portugal, the consequence is that the owners of neutral vessels are left to the justice of the Captors, and in some instances compelled to give money, and in others to submit to disadvantageous compromises in order to ransom themselves and their property from indefinite Detention.

I cannot avoid, my Lord, on this occasion attempting to strengthen my Demand of a prompt and effectual correction of these abusive Irregularities by recalling to your Lordships' recollection the decided manner in which the American Government early in the present war, and upon the Representation of his Majesty's Minister in the United States, interposed its authority to prohibit the establishment of Prize Courts and the sale of Prizes within the United States.

With perfect Consideration &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 19.

LONDON, May 30, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

Since the date of my Letter, communicating Lord Hawkesbury's sentiments respecting the Debts, I have seen and conversed with Mr. Addington, who told me that he had called up the subject in the Cabinet, as he had before assured me that he would do, and that he had expressed his solicitude that it should be brought to a decision, adding, that as the question from its nature and circumstances was not susceptible of exact proof, it was not extraordinary that it should appear in various lights to different persons ; but as the mutual harmony of the two Countries in a certain degree depended upon its being settled, it was in his opinion desirable that a measure, in its consequences of so much importance, should be no longer deferred. Our conversation extended itself to other objects affecting the intercourse and friendship between the two Nations, upon all of which he expressed himself with liberality ; concerning the depredations upon our Trade committed by their cruizing Ships, he said that orders had been despatched immediately after he came into office, to their naval Commanders in every quarter of the world, requiring them to respect the Rights of neutrals and to exercise those of belligerents with the greatest moderation ; and as measures were in train to reform the Vice-Admiralty Courts, he was determined

likewise to adopt such means as should prevent the Delay heretofore complained of in the Proceedings of the Court of Appeals.

Yesterday I met by appointment the Lord Chancellor, who informed me that he had fully examined and made up his opinion concerning the subject of the Debts; but that it was proper before he mentioned it to me, that he should communicate it to his colleagues, which he engaged to do without Delay, & I asked him if he had looked into the Papers respecting the Maryland Bank Stock; he replied that he had sent to his predecessor for them, and as they had already been before him, the looking of them over again would require but little time and attention.

From these communications joined to what Lord Hawkesbury had before said to me, we may, I think, infer that the business will now be decided in a short time; whether the decision will close the negotiation upon the terms I have proposed, is more than I know, though I am inclined to hope that this will be the case.

We have no news either from the Levant or the Baltic since the date of my last; from Paris private accounts state that there will be no objection to the ratification of the Convention, according to the modification advised by the Senate. Mr. Otto who is as likely as any one to be sent as Minister to the United States has informed me that the Consul has called for a list of persons to be employed in America, which has been supplied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

MILL HILL, MIDDLESEX, May 31, 1801.

DR. SIR:

. . . Here though bread is dear, things are in this respect improving; and as the season has been hitherto a favorable one, and the country has the prospect of a good harvest, it cannot be long before the distresses arising from a scarcity of provisions will be over. Peace according to the profession of the new ministers is the earnest and sincere wish of this country, and, when

the question respecting Egypt is decided, it is not improbable that it may take place between England & France, provided Bonaparte believes his personal authority will be as secure in peace as in war. This will not depend upon the success of the English; for should they fail and be obliged to re-embark, I do not think they would renew the attempt; though at present the probability is on the side of the success of the English in Egypt.

It is likely, though not certain, that the affairs of the North will be settled: perhaps a convention may be made limiting the exercise of the Right of visit & search; denying it wholly to Privateers where the Neutral is under convoy, and requiring certain Precautions, where it is enforced by a National Ship, and providing for Damages &c., whenever it shall be exercised without just cause. I have reason to know that shd. any such convention be made, there will be a disposition to enter into the like stipulations with us shd. we desire them.

From France we hear (private accounts only) that there will be no objections to complete the convention according to the advice of the Senate. When will the Chancellor embark? Mr. Otto is talked of as the Minister to the U. S., and would be as suitable a character as is likely to be thought of.

Very truly

R. K.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 20.

LONDON, June 1, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Annexed I send you the copy of a letter which I have just received from Lord Hawkesbury on the subject of the Depredations upon our Trade in the West Indies. As there can be no objection to its publication, you will perhaps think it adviseable to have the Letter and its Enclosures printed in our News Papers, by which means it will reach the West Indies and be seen by those whose abuses it seems intended to restrain.

Two days ago by Lord Hawkesbury's request, I waited upon

him in Downing Street, where he informed me that having understood that we were about to send a small Squadron of Frigates into the Mediterranean for the protection of our Trade against the Barbary Powers, he had received the King's command to state to me for the information of the President, that his Majesty had given orders that the Ports of Gibraltar, Minorca & Malta should be open to our Ships of war, and that they should moreover be supplied from his Majesty's magazines in those Ports, with whatever their necessities might from time to time require. I of course made my acknowledgments for this friendly communication, and added that I would immediately transmit it to you for the President's information.

On this occasion among other topics of conversation, his Lordship introduced the subject *of Louisiana* * ; he had from different quarters received information *of its cession to France*, and very unreservedly expressed the reluctance with which they should be led to acquiesce in a measure that might be followed by the most important consequences ; the acquisition might enable *France* to extend *her* influence and perhaps *her* dominion *up the Mississippi and thro' the Lakes even to Canada ;* this would be realising the plan, to prevent the accomplishment of which *the seven years war* took place, besides the vicinity *of the Floridas to the West Indies* and the facility with which the Trade of the latter might be interrupted and the *Islands even invaded, should the transfer be made*, were strong reasons why England must be unwilling that *this territory* should pass *under the dominion of France.* As I could not mistake his Lordship's object in speaking to me upon this Subject, I had no difficulty nor reserve in expressing my private sentiments respecting it, taking for my text, the observation of Montesquieu "that it is happy for Trading Powers, that God has permitted Turks and Spaniards to be in the world, since of all nations they are the most proper to possess a great Empire with insignificance." The purport of what I said was that *we are content that the Floridas* remain *in the hands of Spain, but* should be unwilling *to see them transferred except to ourselves.*

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c, &c,

RUFUS KING.

* Words in italics in cipher.

(*Copy.*)

DOWNING ST., 30th May, 1801.

SIR:

I have the honour to transmit to you for your information the copy of a letter with its enclosures from Mr. King to Mr. Hammond in answer to a representation which I had directed to be made to the Duke of Portland on the subject of the capture of American Vessels trading to the Spanish colonies in the West Indies: and I trust that you will consider this communication as furnishing an additional proof of the disposition of his Majesty's Government to repress any practices on the part of his Majesty's Subjects, which may tend to molest or impede the legal Commerce of the Citizens of the United States.

I have the honour to be with great consideration &c, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

RUFUS KING, Esq.

LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

(*Copy.*)

WHITEHALL, 27th May, 1801.

MY LORDS:

I transmit to your Lordships herewith for your information an extract of a letter from Mr. Thornton his Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in America to Lord Grenville with copies of its inclosures relative to the Capture of American Vessels trading to the Spanish Ports, together with a copy of a Report of his Majesty's Advocate General, to whom by the King's command the Papers in question have been referred.

I have at the same time the honour to signify to your Lordships his Majesty's pleasure that you should direct the Judges of our Vice-Admiralty courts to follow and be guided in their decision in cases relating to the Trade carried on between a neutral and a belligerent nation, by the rules and principles established by the High Court of Admiralty and laid down in the inclosed Report of his Majesty's Advocate General; and the better to enforce an uniform and strict adherence to those principles, I am further to signify to you the King's commands that directions should be given to withdraw Letters of Marque and reprisal in

cases where the owners thereof shall appear wilfully and knowingly to have captured and brought in for adjudication, contrary to his Majesty's existing instructions vessels, trading between a neutral country and the enemy's colonies.

I have the honour &c

PORTLAND.

REPORT OF THE KING'S ADVOCATE.

(*Copy.*)

LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, 23d May, 1801.

MY LORD DUKE:

I am honoured with your Grace's latter of the 19th inst. transmitting to me several papers which have been communicated to your Grace by Lord Hawkesbury from his Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in America, with a direction to take them into consideration and to report to your Grace for his Majesty's information my opinion, whether in consequence of what is contained in the extract of Mr. Thornton's letter to Lord Grenville, especially that part of it which states, "a principle to have been lately adopted in the courts of Vice-admiralty at Jamaica and Providence, that no commerce could be permitted between a belligerent and neutral nation in the vessels of the latter except such as had been authorized previously to the commencement of hostilities," it would be adviseable to make any, or what, communication to the Vice-admiralty courts at Jamaica and the Bahamas for their guidance & direction.

In obedience to your Grace's commands, I have considered the Papers referred to me, and I have the honor to report that the principle stated to have been lately adopted in the Courts of Vice-Admiralty at Jamaica and Providence, is directly in opposition to the decisions daily passing in the High Court of Admiralty and the Court of Appeal. It has been held by the tribunals of this Country, that neutrals cannot be admitted by the enemy, under the pressure of war, to carry on his colonial trade, from which in time of Peace, they were wholly excluded. But this principle may be, and has been, on account of special circumstances during the present Hostilities to a certain degree relaxed.

His Majesty's Instructions of January, 1798, only ordered that

vessels should be brought in for legal adjudication which are coming directly from the Enemy's Colonies to Europe, and not being bound to England or a Port of their own Country. A Trade between the neutral Country and the Enemy's Colonies is now clearly permitted. Colonial produce actually imported into the neutral country may also be re-exported from thence to any other place, even to the Mother Country of that colony of which it is the produce. His Majesty's existing Instructions are therefore the rule by which at present the Judges of Vice-admiralty Courts ought to govern themselves, and I humbly apprehend that it would be adviseable to convey to the Courts referred to a direction to that effect; as the application of the more extended principle upon which they are represented to act may be productive not only of much injustice, but of great publick inconvenience.

I have the honor to be &c

J. NICHOLL.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 21.

LONDON, June 8, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

The King has so far recovered as to be able to attend to the most important portion of the public Business, but he does not enter into it generally or with his former assiduity. The foreign Ministers were received by him a few days ago at the Queen's House; he seemed to be much debilitated having the appearance of one who had been severely attacked by a fever from which he was beginning to recover.

According to the last accounts from Egypt, which are of the 20th of April, the probability that the French army will be able to maintain possession of the country is still farther diminished. Should the Squadron which sailed originally from Brest under Gantheaume; and which has more than once attempted to proceed from Toulon to Egypt, be able to reinforce Menon by landing troops at different places on the coast westward of Alexandria, he may hold out sometime longer than it will other-

wise be in his power to do. But as the English, by being Masters of the Mediterranean, are enabled likewise to reinforce their army, and the Turkish forces have actually advanced and most probably taken possession of Cairo, the chances are upon the whole manifestly and greatly against the French. Tho' there is no news from the Baltic since Lord St. Helens arrived at Petersburgh, there seems to be little doubt that peace and the former intercourse will be reestablished between England and the Northern Powers. The Embargo upon the English Ships having been taken off in Russia and its seamen released and sent back to their vessels, and Denmark having manifested dispositions favourable to an amicable settlement of the controversy, the English Government has in its turn removed the Embargo, which had been laid upon the vessels of Russia and Denmark. Sweden must act in concert with her neighbour, and the misunderstanding will probably be adjusted, perhaps by a compensation for the Regulation of the Right of Search. Having in separate conversations with *Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Addington* alluded to the probability of such a convention, they both assured me, without however intimating that the measure was likely to happen, that they should be ready, if desired, to secure to us by Treaty every limitation of the Right of Search, which England might consent to with any other nation.

Demonstrations are making all along the opposite French coast for an invasion of the British Islands, and tho' the preparations are not in such forwardness, as to induce a belief that any attempt can soon be made, there are many who think that it will not long be deferred, and be seriously undertaken ; but the return of the English Fleet from the Baltic would render the enterprize more hazardous by the additional squadron with which the motions of the French might be watched and defeated.

The pinch of the scarcity is passed ; the season has thus far been a favourable one, and there is a good and general prospect of an early and plentiful harvest. Bread however will continue to be dear till November. Such of our Merchants as ship flour at the high prices and after the 25th of March will be losers, though the profits of the year will be great to the country.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, etc.

RUFUS KING.

R. King to Lord Hawkesbury.

(*Private.*)

Great Cumberland Place, June 12, 1801.

My Lord:

Although the recent Instructions which have been sent to the West Indies and Nova Scotia, may operate to curb, and the proposed reform of the Vice-Admiralty courts, when made, will do still more to correct the illegal Seizures and depredations, made under cover of his Majesty's authority upon the lawful Commerce of the United States; they can do nothing to satisfy the injury, or compensate the losses that have recently occurred by the capture of American Property which has been condemned in the Colony Tribunals merely because it was bound to the dominions of the Enemies of Great Britain.

So considerable and extensive have been the losses that a sense of irritation and injury has spread itself throughout the commercial towns of the United States, which have called upon the President to interfere for the recovery of the Property of which they have been unjustly deprived, as well as to procure to their Trade greater security from the depredations in future. In consequence hereof, I have been instructed to represent to your Lordship, on the one hand, the President's sincere desire and Resolution to adhere to those principles of exact neutrality, which have uniformly marked the conduct of the American Government during the present war, and, on the other, his confidence, founded upon the fidelity of his own Principles, as well as the sentiments of respect which he wishes to entertain for the Justice of the British Government, that immediate, efficacious and summary measures will be devised to restore to the American Citizens, with costs and Damages, the Property of which they of late have been deprived by the unjust seizure and sentences in the West Indies & Nova Scotia.

To wait for the Decisions of the Courts of Appeals, already loaded with the accumulated Business of the War, and to be obliged to incur the Expence and Delay of the requisite Process to obtain such Decisions, would be to confound the present cases of acknowledged irregularity and injustice with the ordinary and doubtful business of the Tribunal of Appeals.

Under the peculiar circumstances of these cases, I have preferred in the first instance this private representation to your Lordship, which, by bringing the subject under consideration, may suggest the best course of attaining its object, and I shall be ready to present an official note respecting it, as soon as I shall be apprized of the mode in which a restoration of the property can be made.

With perfect consideration &c.,

RUFUS KING.

HENRY LEE TO R. KING.

STRATFORD, VIRGINIA, June 18th, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Altho I very seldom write to you, the feelings of my heart toward you, correspond with the affectionate regard which sprung up with our first acquaintance. I hear with the highest pleasure the unvarying acknowledgements rendered on both sides of the Atlantic to your private worth & yr. ministerial ability. The importance of the station you fill to our Country will I presume induce the govt. here (notwithstanding its radical Mutation) to avail itself of your talents & influence by urging yr. continuance in London.

Whatever may be yr. destiny my prayers for the felicity of yourself, Mrs. King & family will be as constant as they are sincere & as soon as the public interest will permit I shall rejoice to find you restored to yr. native land.

Done with public life by a retirement long since resolved on, I can give you no interesting information on political subjects. The professed moderation of Mr. Jefferson, which was so pleasing to us all, begins to be doubted from some late dismissions & appointments—as yet the judicial department only has felt his interference, how long it may be before he extends his reform as it is termed to other departments is very uncertain. Left to himself I believe his conduct would be marked by much moderation, & although his Cabinet is composed of mild and amiable men, yet I fear he will be goaded by party into intemperance & unwise proceedings.

Should this be the case the next election will be contested with renovated ardor, & elections so keenly contested will not always settle without disturbing the national tranquility.

We have just heard of the surpassing achievement of a division of the British fleet off Copenhagen under the orders of the God of the seas, if I may in the stile of antiquity thus term a mortal, and, yesterday we learnt of the debarkation of Genl. Abercromby in Egypt & of his successful advance to the vicinity of Alexandria. If both these expeditions issue favorably, the first consul will be placed in a more disadvantageous situation by the powers of Britain alone, than United Europe with the profuse waste of blood & gold had been able to accomplish.

I profess I very much doubted the success of the Egyptian expedition, but never apprehended possibility of failure to the Baltic.

Will the two events, terminating as they now promise, hasten or retard peace?—the world seems panting for this event.

Blessed will be the minister who restores to agitated man repose. Even in this country all ranks look anxiously to this happy event, notwithstanding the continuance of the war cannot fail greatly to enrich our citizens.

I will stop as I am sure my reflections must be crude & cannot be interesting to a man whose situation, information & perspicacity enable him to view and understand the position thoroughly, whereas limited—very limited indeed must be my squint at it.

A friend's son visits London & Paris for the completion of his education. He is truly amiable & respect for his parents as well as regard for himself interests my heart in his success & comfort. In no way can I contribute so effectually to promote the end of his voyage as by asking yr. kind attention to him while in London. This I do without ceremony, confident that it will be afforded on yr. part with truth & pleasure. Thus to be informed will be highly gratifying to me on act. of young Mr. Handsford, & because it will be a manifestation of the continuance of the same disposition in you so long recognized by me with the most pleasant sensations. . . .

Ever yours

HENRY LEE.

R. KING TO LORD HAWKESBURY.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, June 15, 1801.

MY LORD:

George Cunningham, a citizen of the United States and Master of the American ship Orion, which lately arrived in England from America, has been arrested and is now confined in the Prison of Newgate, upon a charge of having by immoderate punishment killed John Gosner, one of his crew, and who was also an American citizen, during the voyage from America to England.

According to the representation of this case which has been made to me, it is manifest, first, that the charge preferred against Cunningham is both false and malicious; and second, whether true or otherwise, that he is not liable to answer for the same in a British Tribunal.

In cases of Piracy all nations have a concurrent jurisdiction, because a Pirate is the common enemy of all nations; but in cases of homicide, and other crimes, committed upon the high seas, and which by the Law of Nations, do not amount to Piracy, the offence is cognizable only in the Tribunals of the Nation to which the vessel belongs, in which the same was committed.

As Cunningham is an American Citizen, and the offence imputed to him was not committed within the territorial jurisdiction of his Britannic Majesty, and is not a Piracy, he cannot be held to answer for the same in his Majesty's Tribunals; and I therefore demand his immediate Discharge, in order that he may be enabled, without farther molestation, to pursue his lawful Business.

With perfect Respect &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD ELDON.

(*Private.*)

MILL HILL, MIDDLESEX, June 22, 1801.

MY LORD:

Having received instructions to urge the conclusion without farther delay of the Negotiation, which for a long time has been depending between His Majesty's Ministers and that of the United States, I take the liberty previously to presenting a Note upon the subject to Lord Hawkesbury to enquire whether your Lordship

has yet found an opportunity to communicate to his Majesty's Ministers the opinions, which, when I had last the honour of seeing you, you had the goodness to assure me it was your intention to do, upon an early day, respecting the Debts due to British Creditors, and the Bank Stock claimed by the State of Maryland.

With unfeigned Esteem & Respect &c, &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD HAWKESBURY.

GT. CUMBERLAND PLACE, June 24, 1801.

MY LORD :

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Ldp's Note of the 20 inst. enclosing the copy of a letter which your Ld.p had received from the Law Officers of the Crown, respecting the case of Geo. Cunningham. Since the date of this letter Cunningham has been enlarged by the Court of the King's Bench, upon his entering into a Recognizance with sureties to appear and answer to the charge preferred against him at the next session of the C. of Ad.y.

Being convinced that Cunningham is not liable to be called upon, and therefore that he ought not to be held to answer in a British Tribunal, the charge in question, I send your Ld.p herewith copies of the exculpatory affidavits which were read in the Court of the King's Bench, and demand that he may be discharged from his Recognizance.

The affidavits upon which he was committed are deposited in the Crown office, and together with those exhibited on the part of Cunningham make out the case upon which the demand of the discharge is founded.

With perfect Consideration &c &c

RUFUS KING.

BIRD, SAVAGE, & BIRD TO RUFUS KING.

JEFFRIES SQUARE, 24th June, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

We are much obliged by the communication you have given us of the papers * in General Allen's case, which we return, but can-

* Gen. Allen's letter of April 14, 1801, and the Secretary of State's, April 8, 1801.

not help expressing our surprise at the singularity of his conduct, and his persisting in accusing others of delays which have originated solely from himself.

In answer to your inquiry what is the nature of the proofs which Gen. Allen has been order'd to furnish, we inclose you copy of a letter to him from Mr. Slade, his Proctor, explaining them and calling on him to conform to the plan chalk'd out, instead of following his own notions. We are sorry however to say, that the General has not furnished the requisite proofs either from France or America, and we much fear that, either from inability to furnish the requisite proofs or from obstinacy, he will not.

In the mean time we are sorry to say that Mr. Slade informs us that there is every reason to fear that the Lords of appeal will not much longer delay the decision, which, without these proofs, must go against the General.

We shall by these means be expos'd to be great sufferers, only a part of the Arms having been dispos'd of at prices much below the estimate for which we became security, and the rest, being the larger part, being yet unsold.

We explicitly acknowledge that in mentioning this business to us, you desir'd that we would be entirely guided by our own judgment, and not consider you as recommending us to engage in it. Still it is certain that we shou'd not have embark'd in it, if you had not introduc'd it to us, and if we had not suppos'd from the countenance given by you to Genl. Allen that his cause was a good one and capable of being supported by all the necessary proofs. Nor shou'd we have engag'd in it, if we had not understood that no mercantile speculation was more likely to succeed than sending out these arms, and suppos'd that we were secure of a sale either to the United States, or to some of the individual States.

We therefore confide in your friendship and assistance to do everything in your power to get us out of the scrape, both by facilitating the sale of the arms, if possible, to the United States, and by any representations that the case may admit of and require to our Government.

BIRD, SAVAGE, & BIRD.

R. KING TO MR. ADDINGTON.

(*Private.*)

MILL HILL, MIDDLESEX, June 29, 1801.

DR. SIR :

I have just received a Note from Lord Eldon, saying that early in this week, he should bring before the Cabinet, the subject concerning which I have more than once taken the liberty to communicate my solicitude. I should be wanting in the candour which I know you approve in others, as well as practice yourself, did I not on the present occasion state to you that the recent Letters, which I have received from America, at the same time that they profess the most earnest desire to cherish the subsisting good will and harmony between our respective countries, express both concern and surprize at the delay that has occurred here in settling the points which have been so long under discussion.

Such is the tenor of my Letters, that I cannot be mistaken in the opinion that any farther postponement of the business will unavoidably lead to conclusions in respect to its cause, which can have no tendency to facilitate its ultimate settlement, nor to encrease the mutual confidence of the two countries. I therefore entreat of you, so far to interfere, when the subject is before the Cabinet, as to cause it to be decided without any farther delay.

By my Secretary who embarks for America in the course of twenty days, it will be necessary that I transmit an exact report of the situation of this Business, and I need not say to you, that on every account I anxiously wish that I may be enabled to state that it has been satisfactorily adjusted.

With perfect Respect &c &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 23.

LONDON, July 3, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

Parliament is prorogued ; the address delivered by the Lord Chancellor at the close of the Session, contrary to what some persons expected, throws no light upon the negotiation with

France ; tho' the silence which has been observed on this occasion may serve to strengthen the belief that no considerable progress has yet been made towards the attainment of Peace.

It being understood that it is not the intention of England to renew the armistice in the Baltic, the negotiation of Lord St. Helens will probably be concluded before it expires ; and from everything I hear, there seems to be little or no room to doubt that the late misunderstanding will be settled in a manner which will prove mutually satisfactory.

The last accounts from Egypt state the arrival at Suez of a part of the English army expected from India, and greatly encrease the probability that the French will ultimately be obliged to evacuate that country.

Portugal, it seems, has purchased Peace after an inglorious shew of resistance upon the Frontiers. The Terms are not yet known, but without doubt are hard & humiliating.

The Law respecting the Prize Courts in the West Indies and Halifax having passed, no further difficulties now stand in the way of the promised Reform, which will, I have reason to hope, be carried into execution with as much expedition as can be expected from a Government habitually slow in all its measures.

We yesterday received information from Paris which states it to be extremely doubtful whether the French Government will consent to ratify the Convention upon the terms proposed by the Senate ; it is even said that it has officially declined doing so.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c, &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

King still at his Post—To Lord Hawkesbury—Desires to bring Discussions to speedy Issues—To Secretary of State—Dale's Squadron in the Mediterranean will have good Influence—Ministry promised Decisions—To Commodore Dale—Hospitable Offer of Supplies from British Ports—Presents to Bey of Tunis—King to Secretary of State—Continental Affairs—Convention between England and Russia—Enemy's Goods on neutral Ships liable to Capture—Right of Search of Vessels under Convoy abandoned—Duroe, French Ambassador, strove to thwart Negotiations—King to Secretary of State—Bill for regulating Vice-Admiralty Courts a Law—Scott to King—Answer to Congratulations on Russian Convention, etc.—King to Gore—Patience with Ministry almost exhausted—King to Troup—Threatened French Invasion—King to Secretary of State—Doubts the proposed French Invasion—Difficulties of French in Egypt increase—Cabot to King—Spirit of the Country more democratic than the Form—King's Tour on the Continent—Hale to King—Wishes King to return Home—Cabot to King—Hopes England will not make Peace, but carry on the War—Jefferson's Answer to New Haven Remonstrants—Troup to King—Jefferson's System—Burr goading him on—Hamilton disgusted—King to remain till End of eight Years—King to Secretary of State—Sends Atlas and Maps—Turnbull to King—Malta a free Port—Recommends Higgins as Consul—King to Secretary of State—Affairs at Tunis—To Eaton—Cloths for Bey of Tunis.

There are intimations in the letters of Mr. King and his correspondents that he had contemplated returning home on the coming in of the new Administration, for he feared that its policy might not permit him to carry out the negotiations in which he had been so long engaged and to bring them to a satisfactory conclusion in a short time. The change of ministry in England was as he thought unfavorable to this result, as it was the cause of delay and required a restatement of the questions in dispute to the new minis-

ters. The best dispositions on their part, as expressed by them, were not followed by action, and he found himself obliged to urge strongly a more prompt settlement of the business of the United States while it was intrusted to him. His friends at home wrote to him to remain at his post, as it was intimated that he would not be removed, for they trusted him from his known character, his familiarity with the points in dispute, his high standing with the public men and ministers in England, and a firm belief that his country's interests were safe in his hands. As yet there were no official communications of Jefferson's determination relative to his continuance at his post, and Mr. King continued to press the English ministers to some decided action.

Before entering upon his career as Ambassador, Mr. King had built a large double house on Broadway in New York on a part of the lot on which the Astor House now stands, and had determined to occupy it on his return home. But in the letter below to Mr. Low we see that he desired to sell it, as he proposed to pass the greater part of his time in the country, as it will be found he actually did. Mr. John Jacob Astor became the purchaser of it, and also of the other lots adjoining it, and after many years the Astor House was built.

R. KING TO N. LOW.

LONDON, July 3, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I thank you for your attention respecting the sale of my house in Broadway ; it continues to be my wish to sell, rather than to repair, or lease, or keep it for my own residence. I expected when I built it, to live the chief of my time in town, and for that reason made it larger and laid out more money than I should have done had I thought of passing the greater portion of my time in the country, as it is now my intention to do. A less town house will be sufficient for me, and I would sell for less than thirty five thousand dollars in case a reasonable abatement would procure me a purchaser. . . .

Yr. obedt. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 24.

LONDON, July 10, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

The day before yesterday, I received the Duplicate of your letter of May 21st, and am persuaded that the appearance of Commodore Dale in the Mediterranean must have a favourable influence in our affairs in that quarter. My No. 20. will have apprised you of the sentiments of this Government in respect to this Squadron, upon the supposition that it was destined to the Mediterranean; these friendly assurances have been renewed to me by Lord Hawkesbury upon my communicating to him the purport of your letter of the 21st of May.

Annexed I send you the copy of a letter which I have written to Commodore Dale for the purpose of acquainting him with the Orders which have been given for the hospitable reception of his Ships in the British Ports in the Mediterranean.

Together with the Duplicate of your letter, I received from the Department of State Mr. Marshall's No. 12. dated Feby 26, and Mr. Lincoln's letter dated April 29th, with respect to the Depredations upon our Trade in the West Indies, to which both of these letters relate. I can add nothing material to my former communication. In future I think we have reason to expect greater caution on the part of the public and private armed ships of this country and more justice from its prize courts. In several conferences with Lord Hawkesbury I have pressed the adoption of some measure for the immediate restoration of our Property, which has been recently and illegally condemned by the Court of Vice-Admiralty. Could a plan be devised by which we could in a summary way, recover back the Property, of which we have been deprived, it would save the time and expense that will be required if the Claimants are obliged to travel through the Court of Appeals. I yesterday resumed the subject and his Lordship promised me that it should without loss of time, be taken into consideration; but I cannot say that I have much expectation that any special Regulation is likely to be adopted.

I complained in strong terms of the Delay which still continues in concluding our discussions respecting the 6th Article, and was

explicitly assured that the Cabinet would come to a decision on that subject in the course of a Fortnight.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COMMODORE DALE.

LONDON, July 10, 1801.

SIR :

The Government of this Country having been apprized that a small Squadron of American Frigates was destined to the Mediterranean for the protection of our Trade against the Barbary Corsairs, has notified to me, that by the King's commands, instructions have been given to his Majesty's naval and civil officers for the hospitable reception of our Ships of war in the Ports of Gibraltar, Minorca and Malta, and for their supply from his Majesty's magazines with whatever their necessities may require.

Having just received information from the Department of State, that the command of this Squadron has been given to you, I lose no time in making you the above communication. Should anything of importance occur during your cruize, and which would be likely to affect our commerce to the Mediterranean, you will perhaps think it expedient to make me acquainted with it in order that I may be enabled to correct the misrepresentations, which are usually made of distant occurrences.

Some short time since I sent by a British man of war, bound to Malta, a small case, containing a richly mounted Sabre, for the Bey of Tunis, directed to William Eaton our Consul at Tunis, and addressed to the care of Mr. Eton, the English Superintendant of Quarantine at Malta, and requested him to deliver the case to the Commander of any American Frigate which might touch at Malta, or if none arrived, then to forward it by the first good opportunity to Tunis. Some other and still more valuable presents for the Bey of Tunis, which I have been ordered to procure. are nearly completed, and will be sent to Malta by the first good conveyance after they are finished. These will likewise be addressed to Mr. Eton of Malta, I mention these facts in order that you may take measures to secure and forward them to Tunis, unless you shall have instructions to dispose of them in any other

manner. The articles are guns, pistols, sabres, watches, rings &c, and will cost six or seven thousand pounds sterling.

With great Consideration & Respect &c. &c,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 25.

LONDON July 12. 1801.

DEAR SIR :

Count Bernstoff, who lately arrived here from Copenhagen, urges the restoration of the Danish Islands and the re-establishment of the ancient friendship between Denmark & England. Lord Hawkesbury equally solicitous to effect the complete restoration of good will and amity, proposes to include in the negotiation the subject of the Northern Confederation, which has occasioned the present misunderstanding. This the Danish Envoy declines, referring the question to the issue of the discussions going on at Petersburgh, and consequently the negotiation is at a stand.

England, through Lord Carysfort at Berlin, demands the evacuation of Hanover, which was occupied in consequence of the stipulations of the Northern League ; and Prussia declines to withdraw her Troops, as England has not signified her acquiescence in the Principles of the League.

Sweden makes no diplomatic overtures to England, and is believed to be extremely hostile against her. Hence it seems that the return of harmony between England and these Powers will depend upon the success of the Mission of Lord St. Helens, which is now understood to be confined to Russia ; upon this point nothing conclusive has yet transpired, tho' there continues to exist here the most confident expectation that the views of Russia are favourable to the interest of England.

Among other articles of the late Treaty between Portugal and her Enemies the Gaudiana was to become the Spanish boundary ; the English to be shut out of the Ports of Portugal, the Territory of Cayenne to be extended nearer to the Amazon, and a sum of money to be paid to France ; but as the Treaty has been rejected

at Paris, the war will probably be renewed, and Portugal obliged to submit to still harder terms.

Upon scrutinizing the latest news from Egypt, it does not appear certain that any troops had arrived at Suez with Admiral Blankett, though a considerable detachment was expected from India. It is believed that the French will be compelled to evacuate Egypt, and the preparations which they are said to be making to invade the Morea are supposed to be for the purpose of regaining Egypt by way of Exchange.

Cross negotiations are going on in every quarter respecting the Treaty of Luneville, the execution of which meets with considerable Difficulty. The Duke of Modena does not acquiesce ; the Duke of Parma appears unwilling prematurely to relinquish his Duchy in favour of his son, created King of Etruria. Prussia with other German Powers objects to the Grand-Duke's receiving his indemnity out of the Empire. Russia since the new accession, has made strong representations in Paris in favour of the Kings of Naples and Sardinia ; and notwithstanding all we read & hear of the progress of the Negotiation between England and France, there are such contradictory appearances, and so many circumstances on all sides, inconsistent with a well-founded expectation of immediate Peace, that the Probability of its speedy establishment seems rather to lessen than encrease.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 26.

LONDON, July 14, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

On the evening of the Eleventh, a cutter arrived from Petersburgh with a copy of the convention concluded on the 17th ulto. between Lord St. Helens and Count Panin by which the misunderstanding between England & Russia is amicably adjusted. The Northern Confederacy, as you will recollect, aimed at the establishment of two principles of Maritime Law ; one, that free ships make free goods ; the other, that Convoys exempt neutral

Ships from search. The first is entirely given up, by its being agreed that Enemy goods and contraband of war on board of neutral Ships, shall be liable to capture ; the second is likewise abandoned, so far as regards the visit and Search of Neutral Ships under convoy by the public or National Ships of the Belligerent, but established against all private armed Ships. Several Regulations are provided in the Convention concerning the manner of visiting, search, and detaining, or adjudication of neutral Ships under convoy, and the parties agree to negotiate farther for the purpose of establishing the precise rules upon this particular subject. The articles of contraband are well defined, and the stipulations respecting the Right of Neutrals to trade to the Ports of belligerents are liberal, if their plain meaning be suffered to prevail. Two separate articles were executed at the same time with the convention ; by the first, it is agreed that the Treaty of commerce between the two countries shall be reinstated in all its parts ; and second, that Denmark and Sweden be invited to accede to the convention : that the armistice be prolonged three months from the date of the convention and that Great Britain will restore whatever she has taken from Denmark and Sweden ; Orders for which purpose to be dispatched immediately after those Powers shall have acceded to the Convention.

A declaration on the part of the Emperor was likewise delivered to Lord St. Helens, by which the Emperor confirms the revocation of the Embargo and sequestration of British Ships and Property, and moreover engages to make just and full compensation for all losses which may have been sustained in consequence thereof.

Duroc, aid-de Camp of the Chief-Consul, and Envoy to Petersburgh, and who arrived there a day or two before Lord St. Helens, tendered the formal accession of France to the Northern Confederation which had not before been offered, and which was now declined, with an intimation that Russia herself was about to withdraw from it. Count Panin proposed to invite Prussia, as well as Denmark and Sweden to accede to the Convention, but this was temporarily refused by Lord St. Helens.

Lord Hawkesbury having obligingly shewed me the Convention, you may depend upon the authenticity of the foregoing abstract of it. The issue of the negotiation is satisfactory to England,

and the returning of the Baltic Fleet, which takes place immediately, will be a circumstance of importance at the present moment, when notwithstanding all that is said of the negotiation between France and England, great and extensive preparations are making to invade the British Islands.

Lord St. Helens is rewarded with a British Peerage; he was before an Irish Peer.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD HAWKESBURY.

(*Private.*)

MILL HILL, MIDDLESEX, July 14, 1801.

MY LORD:

I am truly obliged to your Lordship for the opportunity you have given me to see the Convention with Russia. Holding the opinions I uniformly have done, in respect to the justice and importance of the right, for which England has on this occasion been forced to contend, I am gratified with, and feel sincere pleasure in offering to your Lordship my cordial congratulations upon the safe and honourable manner in which the business has been concluded.

For the sake of justice, as well as on account of the welfare of England, and, I may add, of my own country, I rejoice that an ill-understood and insidious question is at length put completely at rest.

With Sincere Esteem & Respect &c &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SIR WM. SCOTT.

(*Private.*)

M. H., July 14, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Lord H. having obligingly shewn me the Convention with Russia, I have much pleasure from personal as well as public considerations in offering to you my cordial congratulations upon the

satisfactory manner in which this affair has been concluded. You know my way of thinking in respect to the Principles and Views of the Northern League, & will therefore be convinced that I rejoice with you that an insidious question with which you and others might hereafter have been troubled has been finally decided ; for I hope and believe we shall never again hear of it.

Very faithfully &c

RUFUS KING.

SIR W. SCOTT TO R. KING.

July 16, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR :

I thank you for your obliging Congratulations on the business of the North. You will easily suppose that I have my share of personal satisfaction in receiving them. I hope & trust that Denmark & Sweden will come in ; unless they are enthusiastically bigoted in favour of Notions, which are utterly unsupportable (as well upon the footing of their own particular Treaties as on that of General Law) I think they must be disposed to close this disagreeable matter upon the terms proposed which, in my apprehension, are liberal enough on the Part of this Country. I hope & believe your Peace of mind is not at all disturbed by the contents of one little Gazette of last night.

I am with my compts. to Mrs. King—very faithfully yours

W. SCOTT.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 27.

LONDON, July 20, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

The Court of Appeals having reversed several decrees of condemnation pronounced in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Bermuda, Monitions were as usual issued against the Captors, and instructions sent with them to our Agent at Bermuda, to apply for and return the names of the Captors' Sureties in order that process

might, if necessary, be obtained against them likewise. Upon application for this purpose to the court of Vice-Admiralty, the Judge refused to permit the disclosure, alledging that the Bonds were given to enforce obedience to the King's instructions, and not for the purpose of satisfying Damages which might be decreed to the claimants in the Prize Courts.

The Agent having made an affidavit of this refusal before the Governor of Bermuda some time ago sent it with a letter, the copy of which is annexed, to Lord Hawkesbury.

Tho' I have received no official answer, I have been informed that upon a reference of the case to the Law Officers of the Crown, they considered the Judge's refusal to be a denial of Justice and recommended that he should be removed from his office.

As the Judge at Bermuda goes out with the rest of his colleagues in the West Indies, by the reform of the Vice-Admiralty Courts, I presume the recommendation will not be acted upon ; and I am led to mention the subject, chiefly with the view of explaining the difficulties in respect to the process of the Court of Appeals, which are now removed by the Act for the regulation of the Prize Courts in the West Indies and America, and for giving a more speedy and effectual execution to the Decrees of the Lords Commissioners of Appeals. I have sent you copies of this Act as it has finally passed which, if fairly executed as I hope it will be, must go far to correct many of the abuses, which we have hitherto sustained : the second section is an important addition to the Bill as it was first reported, by preventing the captured property from getting into the hands of the Captors, before by the final sentence they become alike interested with the claimants to hasten the trial instead of delaying it, as with the possession and use of the property they were accustomed to do. The other provision which I was solicitous to obtain, requiring that all captured vessels should be taken into one of the Colonies, in which the Courts are to be established, has not been accepted. If it had been, the Business of the Privateers from the Bermudas and the Bahamas would no longer have been pursued with profit ; and as the law stands, it will be materially discouraged.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. King to C. and Mrs. Gore in Paris.

Mill Hill, July 23, 1801.

My Dear Friends:

. . . Pinkney said in reason that a Lord's fortnight must be understood to be longer than a Commoner's; the literal engagement expires to-day; as yet I have heard nothing farther from my Lord, tho' I do confidently expect a decision soon. What it will be is another point; I have no particular reason to apprehend it will be unfavourable; on this head things remain as you left them; several little measures have been adopted which wd. encourage the hope of a satisfactory settlement rather than otherwise. . . .

On learning that Dale was going with a small squadron of Frigates to the Mediterranean, notice was given to me, and by me sent to America that orders had been sent to the naval and other officers at Gib. Minorca & Malta to receive and treat our Ships with Hospitality and to supply them from the King's magazines with what their necessities might require. All this is very well, and in case it is followed up by a satisfactory settlement of the points we have been so long discussing, I shd. think and speak well of the good sense and foresight of the men who shall advise it. On the whole I am inclined to hope that this will be the case; and for the mutual advantage of the Parties I earnestly wish it may. My patience is at times nearly exhausted, but I endeavour to recruit and preserve it. From home I have no particular or personal intelligence. I have said nothing nor has anything been said to me. . . .

Affectionately & always yours

R. K.

R. King to R. Troup.

Mill Hill, Middlesex, July 26, 1801.

Dear Sir:

. . . At present we have no other conversation except about the menaced invasion, preparations for which are carried on with great activity, but with so much éclat as leads many to doubt whether anything will be attempted. The ports in wh. the armaments are making are closely blockaded, the whole channel is

covered with Br. Pendants, and how the Invaders are to pass them is quite beyond my comprehension.

Very faithfully

R. K.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 28.

LONDON, July 30, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

Although the military preparations are such on both sides, as wholly to engross the public attention and inspire a very general belief that an invasion will be shortly attempted by the French, I am still incredulous and disposed rather to seek for the real object in some other quarter, and which these demonstrations are meant to conceal. It is needless to trouble you with my conjectures, more especially as those who ought to possess the best means of judging give to these appearances a meaning which I am yet to be persuaded is the true one.

Whether Gautheaume succeeded in landing a reinforcement in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, or has returned to Toulon without effecting it, is matter of doubt. No accounts have been received from Egypt since those of the 1st of June, which state the repulse of the French by the Turks, in the vicinity of Cairo. Up to this date, the Difficulties of the French had continued to encrease.

Sweden has officially notified to this country her accession to the Convention with Russia, and Denmark will without doubt follow her example.

A letter from Mr. Cathcart to our Consul here, announces the formal Declaration of war against the United States by Tripoli on the 14th of May.

With perfect Respect & Esteem

RUFUS KING.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

July 30, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR :

I am greatly pleased with the information you have given me in your favor of 9th May. Many of our good men have been irritated by the wanton abuses of the British Cruisers & Courts &

shou'd the war continue it will be immensely important in a political view that these shou'd cease. We are now a Democracy with a Democratic Chief who may be impelled by the worst men of his party if the circumstances of the times shou'd be favorable to such men. The spirit of our Country is doubtless more democratic than the *form* of our Government & hitherto the former has been restrained by the latter from those excesses to which it naturally tends ;—but we are to look now for the ordinary effects of popular power guided by mistaken men or men of unprincipled ambition,—by Brissotins or Maratists : the *physical* condition of our Country however as well as its habits & manners afford ground to hope that we shall fall far short of France in the extent of our Cancer & that we shall escape some of their worst misfortunes.

I approve the predilection you feel for our Country & if it were a prejudice I wou'd wish it to be perpetuated rather than extirpated. But in proportion to your attachment to its welfare must be your chagrin to see us acting the same fooleries which have disgraced & finally destroyed so many Free States before us. . . . You see I detest France & Frenchmen more than ever. Still I consent freely that you visit the Land of Abominations not in the least doubting you will be amused & *edified*, & in no danger of being corrupted,—go therefore & be happy ! & tell us when you return whether Milton has truly described the Characters of Pandemonium's Council in his 2d Book.*

Adieu.

J. HALE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, August 6, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

. . . In this interim nothing very important has occurred. Mr. Jefferson's inaugural speech is very clearly expounded in his answer to the New-Haven remonstrance. In certain general propositions all mankind are agreed. Their application distinguishes the man of sense & judgment from the visionary

* Mr. King had proposed, if he left his post in London, to take a tour on the Continent before returning home, and had written so to his corresponden in the United States.

theorist. Mr. J's soundness in a political view was not to be expected. But that he would be *left* deliberately to betray so much vanity, folly, weakness & presumption as the answer is replete with, few of his most bitter enemies could have predicted.

Perhaps no man ever entered upon the administration of a free government under more favorable auspices than Mr. Jefferson. His political opponents were ready to support him in that part of his duty against which popular clamour is naturally excited. The mobocracy, to whose blind impulse directed by aristocratic sansculottism, he owed his elevation, were stupidly bent to yield an implicit confidence in the idol of their creating. The support of the farmers, the respectable part of the community, Mr. Jefferson publicly declares to the Merchants of New Haven he wishes to dispense with. Let him go on with his heads of department, all *experienced* statesmen, not to mention the honble. Mr. Lincoln of Worcester.

Hitherto I have wished your longer continuance at the Court of St. James, but the sooner you return home the more agreeable will it now be to me. George Erving may be chargé d'affaires & answer all the purposes of our *wise* administration.

Your friend & obed. Servt.

JOSEPH HALE.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 8th Augt., 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Mr. Jefferson in direct contradiction of his inaugural speech is pretty generally displacing the federalists. In this district the officers of Collector, Supervisor, Marshal, and Attorney of the district are filled by new men. . . . Mr. Jefferson's answer to the New Haven remonstrance, will show you that the system of displacing is the avowed system of the government. This system will be followed by our new Governor (Clinton) and his Council who are now in session at Albany. . . .

Burr is conjectured to be a laying a trap for Jefferson, and he has the credit of secretly goading on Jefferson to pursue a violent course. Gelston is Burr's devoted tool; and it is difficult to conceive that his influence has not been at work to procure Gelston's appointment. . . .

Hamilton is supremely disgusted with the state of our political affairs. He has all along said and still maintains the opinion that Jefferson and his party had not talents or virtue sufficient to administer the government well; and he entertains no doubt that they will finally ruin our affairs and plunge us into serious commotions. Although he does not think this result will immediately take place, yet he predicts it is not so remote as many might imagine. He assures me that nothing short of a general convulsion will again call him into public life.

Lands are looking up. All your friends are receiving monies from them—some more some less. . . .

The Chancellor will not embark for France until October. He assures me you are not to be recalled till your eight years expire. This seems to be a limitation fixed by the government to all embassies. . . .

R. T.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

August 14, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have just recd your favor of the 8th June. Mr. Ellsworth had given me more information concerning France than I had been able to collect from every other source; I think however he errs a little, where almost every other man errs a great deal, in overrating the power of France & underrating that of England. I hope you will not think me mad if I tell you I am not reconciled to peace, on the contrary if England can carry on the war she ought to persist 'till France is reduced from her exorbitant powers to a state that shall consist with the safety & independence of others—it may be said that the immense efforts England makes cannot be kept up against the nation but it appears to me the Govt. will not be justified by this plea if they make a peace & that peace shou'd bring the evil it threatens. . . . If an Army of 100,000 men under Bonaparte were ready at every hazard to cross the Channel, undoubtedly England wou'd find means to meet them on Sea & on Shore with enough to beat them. Now a greater danger than this is wrapped up in the peace. For my own part I have always rejoiced at every threat of invasion on this account, that it changed the public danger from an invisible to a

visible shape. The British Empire woud be invincible & woud finally limit the power of France if the Govt can use the resources & direct the Spirit of the Nation.

You will see by our papers that our new Chief is less wise than *we* thought him & yet *we* have been censured for depretiating his wisdom—in his answer to the New-Haven Remonstrants he has intimated pretty plainly his design to persecute the *Washington Sect.* I have good reason to believe the present Admin. will be very diligent in searching for the faults of their Predecessors, & in the infinitude of transactions in the public offices it wou'd be strange if a sufficiency of materials cou'd not be found to inflame the Country. There may be many cases in which what was done was the best that cou'd be done at the time, but which in this distant retrospect may appear to be quite otherwise. If they are base enough, as I fear they are, to conduct in this manner I shall not be surprised to see the former System & many of its best supporters render'd odious to the majority of the community *for a time.* This was the way in the Democracies of *old times;* of France in *new times* & it must be because it is human nature & therefore belongs *to all times.* Our affairs however are better than cou'd have been expected in many other respects for which I thank God who certainly takes as much care of us as we deserve & much more & better than we can take for ourselves, but they must grow worse & worse before they can become essentially better. . . .

Yours Sincerely & affectionately

G. C.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 29.

LONDON, Aug. 14, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

I have the honour to send you, inclosed copies of a letter which I have lately received from Mr. John Turnbull and of the order of Council therein referred to.* Mr. Turnbull is the head of the respectable Commercial House of Turnbull, Forbes &

* Proclamation, "at the court of Weymouth the 30th July, 1801, Present the King's most excellent Majesty in Council," of the Port of Malta as a Free Port.

Compy., and chairman of the Committee of London merchants which is the channel of the communications of the several manufacturing towns and the Government. I have no other knowledge of Mr. Higgins than thro' this communication of Mr. Turnbull.

In the Ship Calliope, Watson, Master, bound to Philadelphia, I have sent a Box, directed to you, and containing an Atlas in 5 volumes collected by Arrowsmith. One of the Bills of Lading has been forwarded to the Collector of Philadelphia, with a request that he would receive and send the Box to the Department of State: another you will receive herewith. A second collection of maps and charts is preparing by Faden and will likewise be forwarded to your Department as soon as it shall be completed. These Collections have been several months preparing pursuant to the instructions of Col. Pickering and Mr. Dexter.

With perfect Respect, &c.

RUFUS KING.

(*Copy.*)

J. TURNBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, 10 Aug., 1807.

DEAR SIR:

I beg leave to transmit to you herewith the Draft, which Sir Stephen Cottrell has sent me this morning, of the Order of Council to make Malta a free Port. This measure, I hope, will be serviceable in many respects to the Trade of the United States. The situation of that Island is well adapted for the rendezvous of Ships of war, to overawe the piratical States, and very particular instructions have been given for the proper Management of the Lazarettos. . . . A Person of Experience and intelligence has been sent to take charge of them, and Ministers have such confidence in his care and attention to examine and air the goods, that Cargoes coming with a clean bill of health from Malta, will be admitted to immediate Prattic in England. My connections, both in a public and private capacity, with the Trade in the Mediterranean, having had a house at Gibraltar for nearly Forty years, have enabled me to form an establishment at Malta under the direction of Mr. William Higgins. If the President of the United States should not have appointed any one to be American

Consul at Malta, and would do Mr. Higgins the honour to give him that nomination, I would with great pleasure be answerable for his conduct in every respect. I should be extremely obliged to you, Sir, to have the goodness to recommend him for that purpose. Messrs. Mackenzie and Glennie have lodged a Credit to my House at Gibraltar, and which will be equally attended to at Malta, for furnishing to the American Fleet what supplies they may be in want of, during their continuance in the Mediterranean, of Money, Provisions and Stores.

With sincere regard &c.

JOHN TURNBULL.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 30.

LONDON, Aug. 20, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

I am glad to learn from letters which I have received from Mr. Murray and Mr. Dawson, that the exchange of Ratifications has at length been satisfactorily completed at Paris.

The inclosed letter from Mr. Eaton* communicates the latest information which I have seen of the situation of our affairs at Tunis. A recurrence to my former correspondence with the Department of State will show the reluctance with which I have engaged in the execution of Mr. Eaton's orders, which indeed I declined doing until the President's instructions left me no alternative.

With perfect Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

Answer by R. King to Mr. Eaton's Letter to Secretary of State and copy to R. King.

R. KING TO WILLIAM EATON, ESQ.

LONDON, Aug. 20, 1801.

SIR:

I have duly received your letters of the 23d, 24th and 27th of May, and am much concerned that the cloths, and other articles shipped by Mawhood & Co., are not of the quality you expected;

* To Secretary of State and Rufus King.

these Gentlemen state in their own justification, that they executed the order received from you with as great precision as it was in their power, and that it would have been as convenient for them to have sent cloths of a superior quality, as those which you have received. I ought, moreover, to add that they showed me the samples of the goods which they shipped, and asked my opinion respecting their fitness; but as I had no means of judging, I desired them to follow your instructions as closely as possible. Agreeably to your desire, I have requested Mr. Hargreaves to choose such cloths as are suitable for the purpose for which you intend them: this he has been good enough to do, and the Cloths are now packing and will be forwarded by Mawhood & Co., by the first opportunity that shall offer for Minorca, Malta, or Tunis.

It was an omission in these Gentlemen that they did not send an invoice of their former shipment. Having desired them to send one to me, I now inclose it to you. No part of the order except the Woolens, will be executed anew. The Jewels are nearly finished and will I hope be completed in time to go by Mr. Hargreaves, if he do not return through France; in this case they will be sent in the best way that shall occur. With this order Mawhood & Co. have no concern; it will be executed by Mortimer and by Rundle & Bridges.

With great Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

King to Lord Hawkesbury—Project of Convention concerning 6th Article agreed to—Hopes other Questions will soon be settled—King to Secretary of State—Conference with Lord Hawkesbury—The Awards in full Satisfaction of all Claims—Lord Hawkesbury saw no material Objection to Settlement of all other Questions, except relative to the Port of New Orleans—Commission under 7th Article to reassemble—King to Lord Hawkesbury—Detention of American Vessels, instead of warning them of Blockade of French Ports, and demands Release of the Vessels—King to S. Hanbury—Maryland Bank Stock—King to Secretary of State—Blockade of Havre—Continental Affairs—To Lord Hawkesbury—Demanding Release of an American Seaman about to be tried for Mutiny—Cabot to King—Often able to supply Facts, etc., through him, but without compromising him—England's Empire of the Sea renders her invincible—Wilberforce to King—Desires a general Abolition of the slave Trade—Hopes for Help from Bonaparte—King to Lords Hawkesbury and Eldon pressing for a Settlement of Claims—Troup to King, about William Coleman—Cabot to King—Always avoided compromising him—Glad he will remain in England—Neutral Rights—Mr. Erving—King to Secretary of State—Continental Affairs—Concordat of France with the Pope important to the Stability of the First Consul—To Lord Eldon—Maryland Bank Stock—Dawson's Notification to King that the President wishes him to remain—Anecdote of Rumford.

R. King to Lord Hawkesbury.

Great Cumberland Place, Aug. 20, 1801.

My Lord:

I have the honour to send your Lordship herewith the Project of a Convention concerning the 6th Article of the Treaty of 1794, drawn up according to the tenor of our Conference of yesterday. I am not aware that any part of it requires explanation, except the clause on the first Article, declaratory of the relative value of the Money of the United States and that of Great Britain; from

the fluctuation of the Exchange between America and England, Bills at one time commanding a premium of five or seven per cent, and at another time, being at a discount of eight and even Ten percent, I have thought it would be advisable to provide that the installments should be paid at par, having regard to the relative value of the pure or Standard Silver, contained in our respective coins ; four dollars and forty four cents or hundredths for one Pound Sterling, is that par.

I take the liberty of suggesting the expediency of our executing three originals to guard against the accidents which might attend the transmission of a single copy to America.

As the claim of the State of Maryland is so analogous to the claims provided for by this Convention, I rely upon it that no farther delay or difficulty will attend the completion of the proposed articles upon that and the other subjects, concerning which no difference of opinion appeared in our last conference.

With perfect Consideration & Respect &c. &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 32.

LONDON, Aug. 24, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

Although I considered myself authorized by Mr. Lincoln's Letter of the 25th of April to press the negotiation respecting the 6th Article of the Treaty of 1794, to a conclusion upon the Terms mentioned in my No. 6., it has nevertheless been no small satisfaction to me to receive your letter of the 15th of June, containing the President's explicit sanction of my intentions upon this subject.

The day after receiving it Lord Hawkesbury, having previously requested me to meet him in Downing Street, informed me that the Cabinet, after maturely considering the subject, was unanimously of opinion that not less than a million and a half Sterling could be deemed a full equivalent for the abolition of the 6th Article ; but that from a strong and sincere desire to attain an amicable and final Settlement of the Business, it had consented to accept the Sum we had offered, if the terms of payment could

be satisfactorily adjusted, and Provision made that the American Courts should be open in future.

A conversation of some length and difficulty ensued upon these two points. Among other plans that of applying the money in payment of the awards which should be made in favour of our citizens under the Seventh Article was suggested by me, and decidedly objected to by Lord Hawkesbury, on the ground that it would produce confusion, and was moreover an unnecessary departure from the first Agreements.

His Lordship proposed that we should engage to enact a Law, providing that our Courts should in future be open to the British Creditors, and that the Federal Courts should have original jurisdiction in cases under Ten pounds Sterling. To this proposition, after explaining what I conceived to be the present satisfactory footing of our Courts, I explicitly answered that having experienced so much difficulty from the Stipulations heretofore made concerning the old Debts, we could not consent to enter into any new ones respecting them ; that the Treaty of Peace was still in force, and that its provisions were well understood and sufficient to protect the Rights of the Creditors on both sides ; that the Sum be paid in lieu of the 6th Article of the Treaty of 1794, must be understood to be in full satisfaction of all Claims recoverable at the close of the war, but which cannot now be recovered in the ordinary course of Judicial Proceedings ; and in respect to such claims as can now be recovered, nothing more can fairly be required of us than to recognize the future operation of the Fourth Article of the Treaty of Peace which we were willing to do. The Conference, so far as respects these points, was here closed, by Lord Hawkesbury's requesting me to draw up and send him the Project of a Convention conforming to the tenor of this conversation ; this I lost no time in doing.

The Project which has been several days in his Lordship's hands provides that the 6th Article of the Treaty of 1794, shall be cancelled and annulled and in lieu thereof that the United States will pay at the City of Washington to such Person, as shall be authorized, on the part of his Britannic Majesty to receive the same the sum of Six Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, in three equal annual installments, without interest, the first installment to be paid in one year after the Exchange of the Ratifica-

tions of the Convention, and four dollars and forty four cents to be reckoned equal to a Pound Sterling. The Project likewise declares that nothing in the convention shall be construed to abolish or suspend the future operation of the Fourth Article of the Treaty of Peace, which, so far as regards such future operation, is recognized and confirmed.

It was Lord Hawkesbury's choice to give to this settlement the form of a separate convention rather than that of additional Articles. In respect to the proposed additional Articles relative to Contraband, the Maryland Bank Stock, the Impressment of Seamen and the Port of New Orleans, Lord Hawkesbury told me that he foresaw no material objection to any of them except that which regards New Orleans: that they were truly desirous to avoid the interruption of the Trade of our People through the Mississippi, but that having reason to be satisfied that Spain has ceded the Floridas, including New Orleans, to France, they could not, without disregarding their own security, consent to the proposed Article concerning our Trade to that Island.

I expressed my hope and expectation that there would be no farther delay in the conclusion of the other additional articles: he replied, that he must take the final decision of his colleagues, especially of Lord St. Vincent, concerning them, as well as upon the project of the convention: that this, however, would require but a few days. I then observed that the settlement concerning the 6th Article, would remove the Suspension of the Commission under the seventh; and as the Commissioners under this Article were dispersed, it would be proper to take immediate measures to reassemble them. Lord Hawkesbury assented, and I charged myself with this service. I thought it prudent to avoid the appearance of solicitude upon this head, as the commutation of the 6th Article, with an understanding that the seventh is to be executed according to its provisions, instead of being likewise commuted, which has again and again been urged, has been one of the most delicate parts of the negotiation. I have prepared and sent to Lord Hawkesbury a Draught of the additional articles, and Lord St. Vincent has since informed me that they shall receive his approbation.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. King to General Dearborn.

London, Aug. 25, 1801.

Sir:

I yesterday received your letter of June 6th, and will without delay take measures to execute your Commission. Dr. Hutton's work, of which I have heard a good character, shall be immediately forwarded to New York, agreeably to your directions. Some little time may be requisite to select the military works of reputation from the mass of old and new Books upon the subject of war to be met with in this Country. I have taken great pains to procure two collections of maps and charts for the use of your Department and the Department of State. One set is already forwarded to the address of Mr. Madison; the other will go forward as soon as it is ready: they will be found to contain almost all the good Maps and Charts published in the different States of Europe.

It will afford me great pleasure to render to your Department any assistance in my Power, and I beg you to be assured, &c.

Rufus King.

R. King to Lord Hawkesbury.

Great Cumberland Place, Aug. 29, 1801.

My Lord:

I have had the honour to receive your Lordship's note of the 26th instant, enclosing the Report of the King's Advocate General respecting the American Ship Frederick detained off the Port of Havre de Grace and sent into Portsmouth.

Without entering into the reasoning of the Advocate General tending to show the inconvenience of suffering Neutrals, after notice given to their Government of the institution of Blockade, to excuse themselves when met on their voyage to such blockaded Port, by alleging an intention to enquire at the entrance of such Port, whether the same be blockaded or not; I rely upon your Lordship's justice to point out the distinction between the supposed case, upon which the Report of the Advocate General is founded, and the real and different one, upon which I claim the release of the Ship Frederick as well as of the other American Ships, since detained and sent into Port by his Majesty's naval forces off the Port of Havre.

The letter, a copy of which I take the liberty of sending to your Lordship, from the Masters of the two other American Vessels recently detained off Havre, not only shews the unfair practices of some of his Majesty's officers, towards the American Commerce, but confirms what I had early foreseen and endeavored to remedy, that the Blockade of Havre is not known in America. Admitting that the Blockade was once notified, *a Fact with which I am unacquainted*,* yet the American Trade with France has been entirely prohibited for several years past, during which the two countries have been in a state of hostility ; and upon the re-establishment of Peace, and the repeal of the prohibitory Laws, no one has thought of enquiring concerning the Blockades which might have been formerly instituted, but the commercial intercourse has been resumed, as it was natural it should be, upon the known and common Principles of Neutrality, which require that Neutral Ships shall be warned and turned away ; and not detained upon the charge of attempting to break a Blockade, of which they were ignorant.

To enforce the Penalty of Confiscation in respect to Vessels thus circumstanced, would be to confound cases manifestly dissimilar, as well as to destroy the just distinction between the innocent Merchants of a friendly Nation and the fraudulent Traders engaged in the Service of the Enemy. If to this representation be joined the recollection of my early application † to your Lordship for the purpose of ascertaining which of the Ports of France were in a State of Blockade by his Majesty's naval forces at the period of the reconciliation between America and France, in order that I might send seasonable notice thereof to America, and requesting in the meantime that American Ships, met by his Majesty's cruizers in their passage to such blockaded Ports might be warned and turned away instead of being sent in for adjudication, I persuade myself that it will not be thought necessary that I should add any farther reflections for the purpose of engaging your Lordship's interference to procure the immediate release of the American Ships already detained, to afford to me the information I have solicited in respect to the Ports of France which are in a state of Blockade, and to renew

* Marked *Error !*—R. K.

† See letter, April 13, 1801.

the instructions which have already been given to turn away instead of detaining American Vessels, met on their passage to such blockaded Ports.

With perfect Consideration &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SAMPSON HANBURY, ESQ.

MILL HILL, MIDDLESEX, Aug. 29, 1801.

SIR:

I am at length on the point of concluding an arrangement for the transfer of the Bank Stock for the use of Maryland: in an interview with the Lord Chancellor yesterday, he enquired whether Barclay and others consented to the transfer's being made to me: I answered that I understood they had consented, but that I wd. write to you desiring that Barclay and the other Executors of yr. father, with John Hanbury and Jno. Lloyd the surviving partners would signify their consent to me, in order that I might communicate the same to him; I therefore desire you to represent to these gentlemen the necessity of their conforming without delay to this arrangement in order that this Business, so long and inconveniently protracted, may be brought to a close; stating to them at the same time my Engagement, which I hereby confirm, to transfer to them the several sums to which they shall be entitled in virtue of, and according to the agreement made with Mr. Chace immediately after the stock shall be transferred to me.

I shall be at my house in town on Wedy. next Sept. 2d.

With due respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

Sept. 1, 1801.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I am just now favored with your letter of the 14th June, & am glad you have mentioned the paragraph in the Centl. of April 20 because you might otherwise have remained *uncertain* whether I had not at an unlucky moment supplied it. I have not yet pro-

cured the paper since your letter was received but I shall make a point of it as soon as I go to Town. In the meantime be assured that I have habitually guarded myself against every thing of the sort that might by *possibility* be unpleasant to you or inconvenient to the public. I have written *nothing* for the Centinel that I can now recollect since the Palladium was established: what I have published has been in the Palladium & by knowing me as you do I think you must have commonly known my writings. In the course of our correspondence I have often been enabled by your communications to supply facts opinions & reasonings to the Newspapers but I have cautiously avoided all possible compromitment. . . .

I rejoice extremely in the issue of the affairs in the North & the prospect of those in the South. I have no Country but the one in which I live & my Children will be among its Inheritors. I wish it to be left free from all foreign influence but I am persuaded if the French are left in their present State of predominance in Europe they will thro' the medium of a party here govern the United States. For the sake of so much Liberty Justice & Virtue as England contains the whole civilized world shou'd pray for their success against the French & it has ever been my opinion that if they are true to themselves & persevere they will succeed at last in reducing the power of France to a point that will leave Europe & England particularly safe & independent. The British Islands from the circumstance of their being Islands have nothing to fear while they maintain the Empire of the Sea; they can neither be conquer'd *nor impoverished* in this Commercial Age. The present superiority of their Navy over that of others is greater than that of the French Armies—the Russians beat the French by land in Italy & the English are beating them in Egypt: a single Campaign will make Soldiers as good as those of France if commanded by men of Genius. But who can beat the British Navy with equal numbers? What Nation can in Ten years create such a Navy in numbers and Skill? I repeat then their Fleets must be active till France declines & she will probably decline from internal disorder or *external force* before England will greatly suffer.

Yours faithfully & affy

G C

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 33.

LONDON, Sept. 4, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Notwithstanding the assurances given me by Lord St. Vincent that our vessels met on their passage to the blockaded Ports of France, should be warned and turned away, instead of being detained for adjudication, several of them, laden with valuable cargoes, have within a fortnight been taken by the English Squadron, charged with the Blockade of Havre de Grace. A letter which I wrote to Lord Hawkesbury on this subject immediately after the reestablishment of our commercial intercourse with France, has not yet been acknowledged. I have called upon his Lordship for an answer, and at the same time claimed the immediate discharge of the detained vessels on the principle that having been in hostility with France, since the notice of the Blockade of Havre, which was given in 1798, it was necessary that the notice should have been renewed upon the reestablishment of amity between the United States and France. As Lord St. Vincent actually issued the Order, which he promised me he would do, admitting thereby the principle I have asserted, and as some of our vessels have been warned instead of being detained, I am in hopes that those which have been sent into Port will be released by an Order of the Cabinet. I cannot, however, help expressing my surprize, that our Merchants, after so much experience as they have had and the publication of the principles (whether right or wrong is another question) asserted and acted upon by the Belligerents, should continue to expose to the risque of interruption such valuable Ships and Cargoes by destinations, the regularity of which, if considered by them, would appear to be at least matter of doubt.

The last French papers contain a circular Letter from Mr. Eaton, our Consul at Tunis, dated July 25th, announcing the Blockade of Tripoli by our naval forces, and notifying to friendly Powers that it would be enforced by the usual sanctions of the Law of Nations.

Denmark, which has been desirous of entering into a separate negotiation with England, has at last, as I have reason to

believe, decided to accede to the Convention concluded at Petersburgh.

Prussia still persists, against the reiterated and fruitless demands of this country, to keep possession of Hanover, and Russia, which, if I be not misinformed, it was hoped and expected would interfere in a peremptory manner to effect the restoration of Hanover, wants rest to recruit her Army and Finances, and will not therefore be inclined to take any measure which may lead to a premature departure from this Policy.

The situation of Portugal, in respect to France, remains unexplicable; the occupation of Madeira by English Forces looks as if that Island has been or was about to be, ceded to France. It is understood that Portugal has purchased Peace, but the terms are not known; tho' no one doubts the total exclusion of the English during the war.

How long that is likely still to continue is a question of the highest uncertainty; those who know all are unable to answer it. The negotiations for Peace and preparations to make, and to defeat, invasion are carried on with much activity and eclat; if Egypt be lost, and the negotiation fail, nothing will remain but the project of invasion, which will become more practicable, as well as more likely to be undertaken during the short days of winter, than at this season of the year; if attempted, it will be upon so large a scale, that whether successful or otherwise, it will be followed by most important consequences.

With perfect Respect & Esteem

RUFUS KING.

W. WILBERFORCE TO R. KING.

(*Endorsed "Private."*)

Sept., 1801.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have been for some days and I still continue extremely desirous of seeing you for a few moments. You have met my advances with such friendship & cordiality that I naturally accost you & open myself to you with the frankness of a friend. If I take an unwarrantable Liberty you have drawn it on yourself. I

know at least that I am safe in your hands, & that my openness can do no harm, if it be productive of no good. I scribble whilst much pressd. for time, and must therefore be as short & as expeditious as possible.

I have been reflecting with much Solicitude on the grand project I suggested to you of effecting a *general abolition* of the Slave Trade by a convention to be made in the negotiations for Peace. I trust I shall be able to render our Government favourable, & France has so little *apparent* interest (*real* interest she could in no case have, as I think Mr. Pitt, to say nothing of my own arguments, has abundantly made out) in carrying on the Slave Trade, that I am sanguine in my hopes as to France also. But we may meet with serious objection on the part of Spain & Portugal & Holland ; and the two former can set up a better plea of necessity than any other powers on the ground of their mines & the mortality which they may allege attends the working of them. Yet if France be warm in the cause, the reluctance of Spain & Portugal will be overcome. Now, I know no way so likely to produce this last effect as to lay before Bonaparte the short abstract of the Evidence adduced before the Ho. of Coms. (especly. that affecting the Slave Trade in Africa, a subject little understood or consider'd) & still more the printed account of 2 debates which took place on my motions, wherein are speeches of Mr. Pitt & Mr. Fox, which are in different ways extremely impressive, tho' but faint images of that strong & powerful eloquence which at the time bore down all opposition. Bonaparte would be ambitious of effecting what Pitt & Fox had in vain attempted. But how is the desired object to be attained? Here I want your kind advice, & may I farther ask for your friendly cooperation. Any plan you should point out I would pursue. But it occurred to me, whether measures might not be taken to learn Mr. Otto's * way of thinking & feeling on the Slave Trade ; and if he be favourably disposed (if only *vacant* on the Subject the same publications might be laid before him) might not an Interview be contrived between him & myself, wherein he might be desired to transmit the above mentioned publications to Bonaparte—or, without my meeting him, might he not be prevailed on to execute this Commission. A foreign minister, *tho' a French-*

* The French Ambassador.

man, may I suppose be deemed capable of keeping a secret, and therefore I might rely on his not making public what should be going forward, for its prematurely becoming known to our opponents, *might* & but too probably *would* defeat the whole Design. The chief use of my seeing him wou'd be the givg. him more particular informatn. on any points on which he might wish for it.

Now after all this—if on consideration you think it would be improper to engage in this Transaction, I beg you only to forget that I have named it to you. I am persuaded that I hardly need assure you, which however for your more entire satisfaction I solemnly do, that I will keep my havg. had any Intercourse with you on the matter just as secret as you wish or shall require ; and I am sure you will permit me to impose on you the same obligation of strict secresy. One word more and I have done. I am aware that tho' I think the Slave Trade not only unjust and cruel but highly impolitic, yet that others have formed a different estimate of its *Value*—therefore for reasons that I need not assign to you because they are so obvious as not to need specification I would not engage in any endeavour direct or indirect to persuade Mr. Otto to the desired purpose ; and indeed as the King's Ministers are the only legitimate agents in transacting National affairs with foreign Countries, I could wish so to manage the whole Business, that it might wear the air of a mere literary Communication, like that between Bonapt. & Sir Joseph Banks, and if possible I had rather not be seen and known in the whole Transaction except by you alone. But at least I shall be so guarded as not to do anything which can be deemed contrary to the Laws & Constitution of my Country ; tho' I honestly own to you that I make a distinction (and that indeed is the ground of my conduct on this occasion) between cases wherein my country may JUSTLY require my Obedience, & a case which comprehending Robbery & murder, can be legitimated by no Earthly power. I should have spared you this long letter but for my being so much engaged that I fear it would be extremely difficult for me, without the greatest inconvenience, to get up to Cumbd. Place ; and I conceive for reasons which will occur to you if any thg. be done in this matter, the sooner the better. In order to enable you to write to me with the greater openness, I add that I will

destroy any letter with which you may favour me as soon as I have received it.*

Believe me to be with Cordial Regard & Esteem, my dear Sir yours very sincly.

W. WILBERFORCE.

R. KING TO LORD HAWKESBURY.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Sept. 10. 1801.

MY LORD:

John Williams who states himself to be an American Citizen and who against his consent was forced into his Majesty's naval service, has been lately arrested, and is about to be tried at Portsmouth as a principal in the Mutiny, which six months past took place on board his Majesty's ship Danae.

If Williams be an American Citizen, and did not voluntarily enter into his Majesty's service, for the reasons stated in my notes to your Lordship's Predecessor of the 11th and 13th of July 1797, in the cases of William Fish and of the two Hazelburghs, he is not justly liable to punishment for the offence with which he is charged; and it is, therefore, my duty to demand your Lordship's interference in order that these facts may be ascertained, and if found as represented, that the said John Williams be forthwith discharged.

With perfect consideration & respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD HAWKESBURY.

(*Private.*)

MILL HILL, MIDDLESEX, Septemr. 10, 1801.

MY LORD:

Unless our Business be expeditiously finished, another year will elapse before it can be finally closed. Congress alone should make provision for the stipulated Payments; this body meets but once a year and will soon assemble, and the season is at hand

* It is much to be regretted that the answers of Mr. King to the letters of Mr. Wilberforce on the subject of the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, in which throughout his life he was so deeply interested, cannot be obtained.

when passages to America are rare, long and precarious. I therefore take the liberty of pressing upon your Lordship the necessity of this business being completed without further delay, in order that I may be able to forward it to America, in time to be ratified during the approaching session of Congress. I will do myself the honour to wait upon your Lordship on Saturday, or any other day which may be convenient to you for the purpose of explaining to you the very peculiar and disagreeable condition of our Ships, which have been detained on their voyages to Havre-de-Grace, for which Port, I have reason to believe several other vessels are now on their passage from America. I flatter myself that being fully understood our difficulties on this head will immediately cease.

With Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD ELDON.

MILL HILL, Sep. 10, 1801.

MY LORD:

As I am solicitous that the business in which your Lordship has obligingly taken a part should be concluded in season to be communicated to Congress at their approaching session. I flatter myself that you will pardon my recalling it to your recollection. The subject is one that if once looked at, can be soon adjusted; in regard to the terms to be made use of, I can foresee no room to apprehend any disagreement.

With great truth & Respect

RUFUS KING.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 14th Sep., 1801.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The pamphlet Mr. Caritat will deliver you respecting Jefferson's answer to the New Haven Remonstrance was written by a brother lawyer of mine *William Coleman*, who was the clerk of our Court for this City—an office that brought him in at least $2500. a year. He came here under the patronage of Mr. Sedg-

wick, is a native of Massachusetts. We have set him up, in consequence of his removal from his office by the late proceedings of the Council, as a printer. His first paper will make its appearance in October next, and I have little doubt from the specimen given by the Pamphlet, it will be ably conducted. We wish him to form a correspondence for the mutual interchange of newspapers merely with one of the best informed and most respectable printers in London. . . . We wish him to obtain early and authentic information from London and from the most respectable source. All our friends have Mr. Coleman's paper much at heart. We have not a paper in the City on the federal side that is worth reading. . . .

God bless you

R. T.

G. Cabot to R. King.

Sept. 21, 1801.

My dear Sir :

I called on the Printer of the Centinel today to inquire for the author of a paragraph you had seen of the 22d April. It was furnished by Mr. J. Hale who doubtless thought it correct & did not probably advert to its possible effect on you. Let me again repeat that I have been scrupulously careful to avoid at all times whatever might incommode you in this way ; indeed you may recollect that you have *not often* communicated to me any of your official business, tho' you have always been unreserved on everything else : all this has been as I wished it to be.

I have just recd. your letter of the 28th July which gratifies me very much. I hope you will remain where you are not only till the Revolutionary Storm is entirely over, but until the dangerous Calm which immediately succeeds shall yield to steady *settled* weather.

I am much flattered by what you say concerning my ideas on the *interest* of Neutrals & I am surprised, as I dare say you must be to find the view I have given *is everywhere* thought to be *new*. It is a fact that when I first advanced the doctrine that the *interest* of Neutrals was opposed to the safety of Belligerent property, I was listened to with surprise by almost every one, but so obvious is this truth that all now wonder that it was not seen be-

fore by whoever sought it. . . . I suppose by this time Mr. Erving is arrived who is said to have recommended himself as a suitable man to watch Mr. King—his appointment to the place so honorably filled by Mr. Williams has exceedingly irritated our Merchants.

Fare you well, yours affy.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 35.

LONDON, Sept. 24, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

The letters which I have received from you are dated May 21st, June 15th & 30th and July 21st, 27th and 28th; the three last were delivered to me by Mr. Erving, to whom I will afford all the assistance in my power in the discharge of his Several Duties.

My information that Denmark had acceded to the Convention has proved incorrect; Difficulties being still made by this Power, which it is not doubted will in the end accede in order to regain her possessions in the East and West Indies. Russia having required that the accession should be made at Petersburgh, all information comes from that distant city and is often inaccurate.

The compensations to be made pursuant to the Treaty of Luneville have not yet been settled by the City of Ratisbon, and some late occurrences in Germany have led a few sanguine Individuals to predict a new war upon the Continent. This, however is no longer probable, the great Powers are in the main agreed and will finally be completely so by the division of the Ecclesiastical and other small States with which Germany abounds.

Indemnities have been offered to the Prince of Orange; he has asked the advice of this Cabinet, whether he ought to accept them and renounce the Stadtholdership; his answer has been that the Cabinet declines giving any opinion upon the Subject.

Prussia instead of evacuating Hanover has modestly proposed to this Government to pay her a subsidy for the maintenance of the troops she has sent into the Electorate, alleging that France will occupy it, if she withdraws her forces. The answer has been that if Prussia evacuate, and France attempt to take possession

of Hanover, England may be willing to pay for the service of the Prussian troops employed in defending it.

The Concordatum by which France and the Pope have settled the Gallican Church, tho' not yet published, is represented to be of importance to the repose of France, and the Stability of the Power of the chief consul. The Bishops who have been required by the holy Father to resign their sees, will be divided ; the younger will conform ; their seniors will disobey ; their refusal will, however, be of small consequence, as the new Bishops and Archbishops to be named by the chief Consul and confirmed by the Pope, will supply their places, and they themselves from age and infirmity must in a few years retire from the stage.

As soon as I received from Mr. Smith the account of the very irregular conduct of the English Frigate Diana, Capt. Stephenson, towards three American Vessels in the Port of Lisbon, I made a representation of it to Lord St. Vincent, who replied that he would order an immediate inquiry into the complaint and hold Capt. Stephenson answerable for the misconduct of his crew, in case it should turn out that the violence was committed with his knowledge. Since the receipt of your Letter of July 26th, Lord St. Vincent has informed me that orders were immediately dispatched, to institute the Enquiry ; but that the Frigate having sailed to Egypt, no report had yet been made.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD ELDON.

(*Private.*)

GT. CUMBERLAND PLACE, Sept. 24, 1801.

MY LORD :

I return enclosed to your Lordship the project we have been discussing and consent to the substitute for the III Article, which you delivered to me this morning.

The addition of the clause abolishing the 6th Article of the Treaty of 1794, and which may be introduced at the top of the second Page with the transposition of a word or two in the 2nd Article, which I have made, are the only alterations desired.

I pray your Lordship to send the project as now settled to Lord Hawkesbury in order that it may be engrossed so as to be executed immediately. As I have in relation to this business manifested a disposition to fall in with what has been deemed requisite to meet complaints which may arise on one side, I must beg of your Lordship in turn to enable me by an arrangement respecting the Maryland Bank Stock to bear up against the dissatisfaction which may occur on the other.

With perfect Respect &c &c.

RUFUS KING.

"Sep., 1801.*

"In the beginning of this month Mr. John Dawson arrived in England from France on his return to America. Mr. Dawson was the bearer of the French Convention to France and of instructions to Murray to complete the ratification. Mr. Dawson came to me at Mill Hill, and in our first conversation told me that he was instructed by the President Mr. Jefferson to inform me (which he remarked he had done in a letter wh. he wrote & wh. I received in May last, dated in the Chops of the Channel) that I should remain here if agreeable to myself. Speaking of Col. Burr he said the Federalists wd. have been wholly disappointed had Burr been chosen President, for that he himself heard Burr say a day or two after Mr. Jefferson's choice, or entry upon office (wh. I am uncertain) that he would deserve to be damned if he suffered a single officer to remain in place twenty-four hours. ! ! !"

"Sep. 25.*

"In conversation with Mr. Hammond, U. S. of State, speaking of Rumford and Ch. Huslang, the Chargé d'Affaires of Bavaria, I said I knew little of the latter, but said Hammond R. knows him *thoroughly*. I asked him if he seriously believed the imputations wh. had been made respecting R.; he said most certainly, and that even was not all, for that he was a Traitor. On my ex-

* From Memorandum Book.

pressing surprise, he said Lord Grenville told me that Lord Mulgrave had told him, if Lord Sandwich had lived, that R. could not have lived in England; that R. was connected with La Motte the French Spy who was executed in 178–. At that time R. was under Secretary to Lord Geo. Germaine,* who learning that Lord Sandwich was about to bring R. to trial, sent him a message at the time that the motion was before Parliament to address the King to remove from his confidence, &c, Lord Sandwich, that if he persisted in his intention about R., he Ld. Geo. with all his friends would vote for the motion, wh. would have carried it. Hammond added that this protection proceeded from the scandalous intimacy between Ld. George and R.

"N.B. By referring to the trial of La Motte in the Annual Register, the chief witness against him, alludes to a friend in a certain office!

"No doubt this anecdote had its influence in preventing R.'s reception as Minister from Bavaria. The reason assigned agt. it was that R. had been & was a Br. subject & that it was a rule to refuse the admission of subjects as Ambassadors."

* Minister for the Colonies during the Revolutionary war.

CHAPTER XXXV.

King to Secretary of State—Impatient at Delays in Negotiation—To J. Madison—Delays—Peace with France and Revision of Treaty with England about Seamen and Contraband seem to require a Plan to be adopted—A Conference at Home if Mr. King is to conduct the Negotiation advisable—To Secretary of State—Preliminaries of Peace with France—France may turn Attention to Louisiana—J. Q. Adams to King—Return to America—How much the Country improved—Removals from Office a Subject of Censure—Mr. King not to be removed—Troup to King—Removals from Office in New York—Federal Party dying out—Anecdotes of Jefferson and Chancellor Livingston—King to Secretary of State—Conferences with the Lord Chancellor and Lord Hawkesbury on 6th Article—King to Secretary of State—Further Conferences on same Subject, on the 7th Article, and on the Maryland Bank Stock—King to J. Madison—The Course he will pursue if Objections persisted in.

R. King to Secretary of State.

No. 37.

Oct. 4, 1801.

Dear Sir :

I have expected during the last fortnight that I should be able to close the negotiations respecting the 6th Article of the Treaty of 1794, in season to send the result by Mr. Dawson ; but as he is on the point of embarking, and the business still remains open, I can only transmit the annexed Report of what has passed since the date of my No. 32. Be the consequence what it may, I shall decline entering into any new engagement which may vary from, or change the stipulations of the Treaty of Peace ; being fully satisfied that a departure from this decision, would lay the foundation of a future controversy.

After waiting a reasonable time I propose, in case I do not hear farther from Lord Hawkesbury, to send him a Note demanding a decisive answer.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c &c.

Rufus King.

After this follows the report, which is a very long one. In the course of it appears the following letter from Lord Eldon.

LORD ELDON TO RUFUS KING.

Sept. 26, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

I have taken all the means in my power to avoid postponing the visit I promised you from this day till Monday, but I find myself obliged so to do, and shall call upon you on Monday about one o'clock.

Very faithfully &c &c.

ELDON.

Mr. King also writes:

"Oct. 2.

"Went to Downing Street agreeably to Lord Hawkesbury's appointment. His Lordship was prepared to receive my compliments upon the Preliminaries of Peace with France, which were signed last night ; but wholly unprepared to say anything more respecting my business than that he had seen the Chancellor, and that it would be requisite for him to bring the subject again before the Cabinet. I asked when this would be done, and expressed pretty strongly my impatience at the delays which had taken place ; he replied that he could not name a day, but that it should be soon. It is now evident that little attention has been bestowed upon our affairs ; the negotiation with France having excluded the consideration of all other subjects."

R. KING TO JAMES MADISON.

(*Private.*)

LONDON, Oct. 8, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

I have nothing to add to my official letter respecting the negotiation relative to the 6th Article. The additional articles concerning Contraband and the Impressment of Seamen were

referred to Lord St. Vincent, who informed me that he immediately reported upon them ; he had before told me that he was in favour of their adoption ; the Chancellor has assured me that he would attend to the settlement of an article respecting the Maryland Bank Stock ; but this business will continue to be deferred until the discussion of the Convention is finished.

The conclusion of Peace (the Preliminaries whereof will not be published before they shall have been ratified) and the limited period within which our Treaty must undergo a revision, render the articles respecting Seamen and Contraband, less important than they would have been had the war continued ; yet as one of them is declaratory of the meaning of the 18th Article of the Treaty of 1794, and would therefore be a rule of decision in the Court of Appeals, and as it affects a great Principle, in the establishment whereof we are deeply concerned, I shall do all in my power to bring them to a conclusion.

It was my earnest hope, when I came hither, that I should have had before this period, an opportunity to assist in the revision of our treaty with this country. We have sufficiently seen, and become acquainted with, its operation during war : and the time is come when it is to be tried as a rule of mutual conduct in Peace. If I be not mistaken, it will be found to be our interest on every account, to aim at its revision as soon as possible. The Treaty with France may also require to be revised : ought we not to lay down a common basis for these Treaties, and endeavour to form them so as to act upon common and not upon interfering Principles ? To do so will require concert in the projects, as well as in the negotiations. Should the President confide the negotiation here to me, might there not be considerable advantage in my receiving his permission to pass a fortnight with you at the Seat of Government, or with Mr. Livingston here or at Paris ? If the Subject have not been fully discussed with Mr. L. before his embarkation, the conferences in America would be most useful. Upon the supposition that our affairs still depending here be satisfactorily closed, I might embark in March directly for the Chesapeake, pass a fortnight in Washington and returning by New York be here again in July.

With perfect Esteem & Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. King to Secretary of State.

No. 38.

London, October 9, 1801.

Dear Sir :

Information has been received from Paris that the Preliminaries are fully approved and that the ratification will without delay be completed. The Terms published in the News Papers are admitted to be correct. France receives back Martinique and the rest of her foreign possessions, and in better condition than when taken by the English. The Dutch and Spaniards likewise regain the possession of their colonies with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad. Malta will be restored to the Order and Egypt to the Turk. It is highly probable that Menon had capitulated at the date of the Preliminaries, the effect whereof will be to exclude the English and not the French from Egypt. The Dutch colonies have been greatly enriched while in the hands of the English, who have added more than thirty thousand slaves in the single colony of Demerara. Upon a moderate calculation it is estimated that the restored colonies carry with them Five Million Sterling of English capital with which they have flourished since their capture.

The armistice, counting from the exchange of Ratifications, will be the same as at the conclusion of the American War. Lord Cornwallis is to be sent to Amiens to conclude the definitive Treaty ; this will be a mere ceremonial, as the Preliminaries will constitute the definitive Treaty. The only point which is understood to be open, is the agreement upon a Third Power to be the Protector of Malta. England wishes Russia, France will prefer a weaker Power, and the disagreement may end by their conferring the Protectorship again on the King of the two Sicilies. A Treaty of commerce is an affair of future consideration and may not be concluded for several years.

Had France retained Egypt her commercial and colonial views would have been chiefly confined to the Mediterranean ; especially as it is understood that a part of her plan was to have established military colonies at Algiers & Tunis. This enterprize having failed, Saint Domingo and her other American colonies will engage her immediate attention, and perhaps Louisiana may

be coveted as an asylum for their Emigrants, as England once thought of making it the refuge of ours. May the same fortune which disappointed the views of England in like manner frustrate those of France !

With perfect Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO R. KING.

QUINCY, 13 October, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

On my arrival here, the 21st of last month, I received your obliging favours of 30. June, 10 and 26. July, for which and for your kind attention to my little concerns, I can only return you thanks, the exchequer of the poor. . . .

We landed at Philadelphia, the 4th of last month after a tedious, though not unpleasant passage of 58 days from Hamburg—My wife, with her child went on to her father's family at Washington, and I came here—The day after to-morrow I purpose setting out, to go and bring her home—In the course of a month I hope to be here again, and shall immediately resume the practice of the law, and fix my residence in Boston.

The appearance of our country has much improved since I left it in 1794. I find everywhere the marks of peace within our walls, and prosperity within our palaces—for palaces they may truly be called ; those splendid and costly mansions which since my departure seem to have shot up from the earth by enchantment.

The pleasure of these prospects is in some measure damp'd by that of the afflictions from which we are not yet exempted—Several of our large towns—New York, Norfolk, Charleston S. C. and some others are bleeding again under the scourge of pestilential fevers. But as they did not appear untill a much later than the usual period, and as the cold season is rapidly approaching, we hope for speedy relief from this distressing calamity.

Upon the subject of our politics, I know not how far it may be proper to tell you all I have observed since my return, and should I tell you all, it would not give you a clue to the projects and views of any party—the meeting of congress will doubtless discover

some of them, and I shall write you again upon the subject, with the utmost confidence.

The dismissal of some public officers and the appointment (provisionally) of some others has given rise to considerable controversy—Remonstrances, replies, and pamphlets pro and con have furnished much conversation for idlers, and much discussion for disputants. This has been hitherto the only topic of material censure upon the present administration, and individual feelings have given it a show of importance much beyond that which belongs to it—I am happy to know, that from the removals of public officers abroad, it has been constantly determined to except you, and that the President has expressed his entire satisfaction with the manner in which you have served the public in your present mission.

I am, Dear Sir, ever faithfully your's

A.

R. Troup to R. King.

New York, 14th Oct., 1801.

Dear Sir :

. . . Landed property is looking up ; and it is certain that more monies have been received from settlers within eighteen months past than in several preceeding years. The class of settlers, now emigrating to Sir Wm. Pulteney's lands consists of respectable and wealthy men—and principally from Maryland & Virginia.

. . . All the federalists in this State who take a part in politics are enraged with the violent proceedings of our Council of Appointment.

Mr. T. enumerates many of the changes, discussing the character of the new appointees, and then goes on :

—The displacing system here is bottomed on Jefferson's example ; and I have no doubt it will be pushed still further, considering the violence of DeWitt Clinton and Spencer. The system, as thus far practised by Jefferson and Clinton's council, occasions great heart burnings with some ; but I doubt whether they are so general as

materially to injure the democratic interest. The great body of the people appear not to care whether A or B, be in this or that office. I have always thought our governments from the texture of them were destined to be in the hands of demagogues ; and I believe they will remain there, until a convention, or something like one, shall show the people that they are cheated. Public spirit seems to have spent its force among the federalists. They are wearied out with the warfare in which we have been engaged ever since our general constitution has been framed ; and they seem to pant so much for repose that they are ready to submit to any state of things short of Parisian Massacres. . . . The federal cause exhibits strong symptoms of a speedy dissolution. At an election of Delegates (held in August) to our State convention appointed to heel tap our State Constitution, the federalists made no stir ; they did not even vote. . . . A well experienced gentleman just from Philadelphia says the same torpor prevails in that city, and indeed in the whole state. It is also the case with Maryland. . . .

A gentleman who has spent a considerable part of the summer in Virginia tells me that some of Mr. Jefferson's influential friends are dissatisfied with his violent proofs of party spirit and are crying up Burr. Others complain that his familiarities with the sovereign people lower the dignity of government. The latter I think, is a curious objection. As to the former, I think they must be pleased with the advancement of their own sect. Jefferson certainly has his heart full of public censure. All the federal presses are pouring down upon him vinegar and gall. I am informed that some man to the southward lately dedicated a book to him with the homage of his high respects, and that Jefferson returned for answer he was happy to find one man, amidst the host of calumniators, that was so virtuous and independent as to say civil things of him. I believe this to be a fact ; and if so, it proves that the saddle of power has galled his back. . . .

The Chancellor is here with his family on the way to the Jacobinical paradise. He will embark to-morrow or next day on board the Boston frigate that has come to waft him across the ocean. Report announces, and I believe truly, that the headquarter gentleman wished him to go in a merchant vessel : but with true democratic spirit he replied that he would not go at all if they

did not send him in a government ship. When he went on board the other day to reconnoitre the accommodations the frigate afforded, it was generally doubted whether he heard the honorable voice of the guns. . . .

God bless you

R. T.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 40.

LONDON, Oct. 20, 1801.

DEAR SIR :

The ship in which Mr. Dawson embarked, having been forced by adverse winds to return into Port, affords me an opportunity of sending to you the annexed continuation of the Report of my conferences with the Chancellor and Lord Hawkesbury. It may be several days before I hear again from his Lordship, and such is the present extraordinary situation of the negotiation, that I will not venture even to conjecture the turn that it may now be likely to take. Should it ultimately fail, however much we may regret its inauspicious influence upon the good understanding and harmony we have so assiduously laboured to preserve with this country, we shall have the satisfaction to know that it did not fail from a change of circumstances, or the want of good faith, on our part.

With perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

Notes of conferences with Lord Hawkesbury and others concerning the convention relative to the 6th Article *of the Treaty of 1794.*

1801, October 8. Lord Hawkesbury informed me that he had not yet an opportunity of bringing our Business before the Cabinet, and desired me to see the Lord Chancellor again upon the subject. Accordingly I sent a note to the Chancellor informing him what had passed between Lord Hawkesbury and me, and proposing to meet him when it should be convenient.

9. Received the following note from the Chancellor.

LORD ELDON TO MR. KING.

DOWNING STREET, 9th of October, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

I have been out of town this morning, and it will perhaps save time, if you would do me the favour to send to Bedford Square the Convention, as you may think finally it would be satisfactory to you, after the conversation you have had with Lord Hawkesbury, and I will give it immediate attention and take an early opportunity of seeing you.

With great Respect &c.

ELDON.

To this note I immediately returned the following answer:

R. KING TO LORD ELDON.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Oct. 9, 1801.

MY LORD:

The Draught of the Convention, sent to me by Lord Hawkesbury, I delivered to your Lordship, when last I had the honour of seeing you. I shall be satisfied with it, provided the underscored words in the enclosed copy of the 2d Article be changed for those which I have written in the opposite margin. I beg your Lordship to excuse the trouble I have given you in this business which has been influenced by the persuasion that if you and I could not agree upon the article, I might despair of seeing a satisfactory conclusion of it.

With perfect Respect &c.

R. K.

UNDERSCORED WORDS IN 2D ARTICLE, VIZ.	WORDS PROPOSED TO BE SUBSTITUTED, VIZ.
"and so as that no creditor on either side shall hereafter meet with any lawful impediment to such recovery as aforesaid."	"and so as that the said creditors shall hereafter meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in Sterling money of their bona fide debts."

October 14. Received a note from Lord Hawkesbury desiring me to meet him and the Chancellor at 12 o'clock to-morrow.

15. Went to Downing Street agreeably to Lord Hawkesbury's appointment. The Lord Chancellor began by saying he had no objection to substitute the words I had proposed in the close of the Second Article, in lieu of those which he had inserted, but that on considering the fourth Article which I had proposed, he was not sure that it might not interfere with the Second Article, nor that we might not still misunderstand each other in regard to what was to be the condition of the Creditors in prosecuting for the recovery of their debts. His idea was that all legal impediments, by which he meant Laws and Acts of State, preventing the recovery of bona fide debts, were to cease; and consequently that the Creditors would be able to prosecute for their recovery in like manner as they might have done, had such lawful impediment never existed; for example, continued his Lordship, if during the American war, a Law were passed, disqualifying British subjects, from prosecuting for recovery of debts in the Courts of America, in like manner as during the present war, a law has been enacted to prevent the recovery of Debts due to Persons resident in France, such Law must henceforth cease. But, if on trial, the demand fail for want of sufficient proof, or for any other defect, that, in the ordinary course of Judicial Proceedings, would prevent a recovery, such failure would have no relation to the Treaty. If, for instance, said Lord Hawkesbury, the Court inform the Jury that there is no lawful impediment to the Creditor's recovery, but the Jury, notwithstanding, give a verdict for the Debtor, this would not affect the Treaty, since it is not to be contended that the Government can engage how Juries shall decide in cases submitted to their consideration. All we expect is that there shall be no Impediment in Law to the Creditor's recovery.

I replied that it was not very easy to define, what is and what is not, a lawful impediment; to which the Chancellor assented; but that I did not perceive that we differed in our ideas upon the subject; the Treaty of Peace engaged that lawful impediments should cease; the proposed Convention would confirm this engagement; and such was my understanding of its import. The additional or fourth Article had been proposed by me for this

reason. As the second and third articles purported to explain what the Convention does not mean, I had thought it expedient to offer an article declaratory of what it does mean; but if the third article were omitted, I should have no objection to omit the fourth. The Lord Chancellor expressed his approbation of this Compromise, and said he would revise the Draught in order to render it comformable to this agreement; this, he added, should be done in the course of the evening, and Lord Hawkesbury desired me to meet him to-morrow for the purpose of signing the Convention as we had *now settled it.*

The Chancellor, adverting to the Maryland Bank Stock, observed that after looking more fully into the question, he felt great difficulty in recommending that it should become the subject of a public Convention or Stipulation between the two countries. The claims of sundry Persons upon that Property, remained still to be decided in the Court of Chancery; and it would be contrary to the usage of this country for the King to enter into any stipulation, affecting or controlling the decisions of his Courts; that if any should be agreed to, it must be with a provisional reserve in favour of these claims; that an assurance from the King's Government that his Majesty's right, subject to such equitable claims as might be established, should be transferred to Maryland, and an Instruction to the Attorney General to bring these claims to a decision, would answer all the purposes of a stipulation to the same effect.

I remarked that it was to be hoped that there was no intention by the proposed reservation in favour of these claims, to establish them against our Title, and that I could not but regret that that decision had not been earlier communicated.

I then said that the difficulties, respecting the execution of the 6th article of the Treaty of 1794, being now terminated by the Convention we had settled, I thought it my duty, with a view of avoiding *misconceptions*, to state explicitly our expectation that the Commissioners under the 7th Article, should be permitted to meet and proceed in the execution of their duties; their Meetings had been suspended by a Letter from Lord Grenville to the British Commissioners, and nothing more would be requisite than a Letter from Lord Hawkesbury, instructing them to resume their business. Lord Hawkesbury to whom I had before expressed

the same idea, appeared now to receive it as a matter of course. The Chancellor replied that the subject was entirely new, to him, and after a short pause, said it was an important one and that he wished it had been mentioned before as it related to the subject of the proposed Convention.

I observed that I could perceive no other connection between the two Subjects, than that the Commission had been stopped until a settlement could be effected, respecting the Commission in America ; this settlement was now agreed upon, and it followed of course that the impediment to the Proceedings of the Commission here should be removed.

That there could be nothing new or unexpected in this communication inasmuch as it had before been distinctly explained by me to Lord Hawkesbury when he informed me of the Cabinet's decision to accept the £600.000.

The Chancellor repeated that it was quite new to him, and that in his opinion, it was of so much importance, that it would be proper to submit it to the consideration of the Cabinet.

Lord Hawkesbury immediately said he would summon a Cabinet for the next morning, and the conference ended by his requesting me to meet him again between 2 and 3 o'clock to-morrow.

Oct. 16. Attended Lord Hawkesbury's appointment. His Lordship after stating the occasion, object and provisions of the 6th and 7th articles, and pointing out their similitude, said that upon a full consideration of the various circumstances belonging to the claims under the 6th article, and having regard to a practicable and final settlement of them, they had agreed to accept £600.000, which, tho' less than they believed might have been recovered by a fair execution of the article, was nevertheless a sum, that under the circumstances of the claims, it was prudent and proper to accept ; but this decision had been made without adverting to the situation of the claims under the Seventh Article. They now found that they had agreed to accept what was less than fair Justice to the British Claims, while by the execution of the Seventh Article they should be called upon to do complete Justice to the American Claims : that this was the Light in which the subject was now seen by all his Colleagues ; they had, however, come to no decision upon it ; it being their intention to consult Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of understanding the motives which

influenced them to arrest the Proceedings of the Committee in England.

I replied that the objection when made by the Chancellor yesterday had been wholly unexpected ; that having since deliberately revised all that has passed in the course of this long and serious discussion, the effect had been to encrease my surprise that at this stage of the business, and after it had been so thoroughly examined, an objection should be started which, if I understood its object, would be likely to defeat every expectation of a satisfactory settlement.

It must have been known that there was a Commission in London for the American Claims : it had recently been proposed by me and declined by his Lordship, as an arrangement of mutual convenience, that an article should be inserted in the projected Convention, agreeing that the £600.000 to be paid by the United States should be applied in discharge of the awards of this Commission, in favour of our citizens, and that an equivalent sum should be distributed by the British Government among the British Creditors ; moreover that the very Draught of the Convention, which we had just settled, and which the Cabinet had approved, referred to the Commission in London, and to the future execution of its Duties ; that a settlement of the difficulties which had arisen in the execution of the 6th Article could alone have been hoped for, or effected by an impartial reference to the nature of these difficulties, and a due consideration of the various circumstances of the Claims of the Creditors.

That the Commission in London was going on in a satisfactory manner, when it was stopped by the interference of the British Government ; tho' the circumstances of the American Claims were altogether dissimilar from those of the British Creditors ; and that there was nothing either in the manner in which the Commissioners were proceeding, nor in the nature of the claims, why the Commissioners should not proceed to do complete Justice.

Notwithstanding they might think £600.000 less than complete Justice to British Claims, and they may have been influenced to accept it, by the desire of seeing a final and friendly settlement of the business, we were of opinion that it was not only equal to what, upon the fair interpretation of the 6th article, we should have been liable to pay, but more than we ought to pay, having

regard to the merit of the claims ; and even with a view to a final and amicable settlement, that it was the highest sum that prudence would permit us to give.

That the proposition of converting these Claims into a definite sum and abolishing the Commission in America, had proceeded from them, and that the negotiations, grounded upon this proposal, had been carried on with an exclusive reference to this Article ; that when his Predecessor Lord Grenville, at the commencement of the discussion, enquired of me whether I had Powers to enter into a similar agreement with respect to the American Claims, I had explicitly answered that I had no such power ; and in August last, when his Lordship communicated to me the decision of the Cabinet to accept the £600.000, the only qualification of the decision related to the manner of paying the Money, and the Right of the Creditors to recover their Debts in our Tribunals, both which points, after repeated conferences, had been settled : that at the interview just mentioned, I had distinctly informed his Lordship, with the view of preventing future discussion, that it was our expectation that the Commission in London would be allowed to meet, and proceed in the discharge of its Duties, as soon as the Settlement respecting the sixth article should be completed, and, as the American Commissioners were dispersed, that it would be proper that measures should be taken to reassemble them ; and upon his Lordship's assenting, I said that I would charge myself with recalling them to London.

That I had sent a faithful Report of our several conferences to my Government, in which it would appear that our expectation of the reassembling of the Commission in London, had been seasonably and often mentioned, and that with this Report and the reputation which the British Cabinet everywhere enjoyed of never deciding points, even of inferior importance, without seeing them in all their bearings, it would not be extraordinary, if those who had not had the advantage of personally knowing the characters of the King's Ministers, should ascribe this sudden hesitation to some other motive than that which had occasioned it.

Unfortunately too the affair of the Maryland Bank Stock would serve to encrease, rather than to remove, suspicions of this sort. Upwards of sixteen years had elapsed since the State of Maryland had endeavoured to obtain a decision upon her claim to this Stock

in the Court of Chancery of this country, to whose Jurisdiction she was willing to submit. Several years after the commencement of a suit for this purpose, the Chancellor discovered, that having no means of enforcing a Decree upon an independent State, he had no jurisdiction to try the merits of the Question before him. The Claim then became the subject of diplomatic representation, and a number of years having been spent in explaining, conferring and exchanging Notes respecting the claim, it has been recently discovered that it was still depending in the Court of Chancery, and that it would be unusual and indecorous to make that a matter of stipulation which was in the possession of the Judiciary.

I concluded my observations to Lord Hawkesbury by saying that I had no power to add a shilling to the sum which had been offered and accepted as a settlement of the 6th Article; nor could I enter into a negotiation for the purpose of commuting the claims under the 7th Article. If, therefore, the objection which had been started by the Chancellor should be persisted in, the claims under both articles would be set afloat, and that too at a period, when our Commercial Treaty was about to expire, and a new negotiation to be commenced for its renewal. Should that fail, the commercial intercourse between the respective Countries would become the object of separate and retaliating regulations.

Lord Hawkesbury made no other reply than by repeating what he had before observed, that the Cabinet had decided nothing; being desirous to obtain information of the views of Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt.

R. KING PROBABLY TO JAMES MADISON.

(*Private.*)

LONDON, Oct. 20, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

In addition to my official letter of this date, it may be satisfactory to you to know, if more money shall be demanded, that I shall refuse of course, and claim the execution of the Convention; if a commutation of the 7th Article be asked for, I shall decline entering into any discussion for that purpose, for the twofold reason, that I have no powers, and, if I had, I should decline,

the claims being plain and comparatively few, and the Commission, which was proceeding in an unexceptionable manner, was the best means of ascertaining their amount.

In order that no mistake may be committed on our part, I am calmly and beforehand considering the course it may be proper for me to pursue. Should the objection that now stops us be persisted in (the import of which seems to be that we should give more money than they have consented to accept, or accept less than we have a just claim to receive) I shall be inclined, according to my present view of the subject, to offer to sign the Convention that has been agreed to respecting the 6th article, and, as a consequence thereof, to demand the removal of the Impediment to the execution of the 7th Article.

Our Havre vessels are not yet released, tho' I have little doubt that they will be discharged in a few days. Tho' General Smith's valuable ship & Cargo were without excuse detained off the Texel, I advised the Master by all means to take them back without pursuing satisfaction; wh. wd. have been uncertain and at the expence of the long detention of ship and cargo.

Very faithfully,

RUFUS KING.

SIR W. SCOTT TO R. KING.

COMMONS, Oct. 22, 1801.

SIR:

I do myself the honour of returning herewith the Copy of the Proceedings of the American Government upon the Complaint which arose in the British High Court of Admiralty in consequence of some undue Practices appearing in the case of the Brig Sally to have been committed by Officers in one of the American Custom-Houses. *

If I was not afraid of appearing to be guilty of an improper Presumption in exercising any minute Judgement upon the Conduct of a great Government, I should venture to observe that the Lenity shown to the old officer seems to be as properly applied, as the Severity which has been practised upon the actual delinquents.

* Endorsed "Returning Proceedings of the Amer. Govt. respecting Coll. Watson which are highly satisfactory."

Perhaps it will be more becoming in me to content myself with saying that as far as I am concerned (and I may add as far as our Government is concerned) the Communication has fully answered the Purpose of shewing that the American Government has no disposition to connive at the misconduct of its officers.

With perfect Respect & Esteem I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient & very humble servt

W. SCOTT.

"GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Oct. 27, 1801.

"Mr. King presents his compliments to Lord Hawkesbury and takes the liberty to ask whether his Lordship has yet completed the Inquiry respecting the suspension of the committee under the VII Article of the Treaty of 1794., that he was desirous of making before the signature of the Convention which has been settled relative to the 6th article of the same Treaty."

The above note to Lord Hawkesbury, to which no direct answer appears to have been given, shows the persistency with which Mr. King called upon the British Ministers to make a settlement of the reasonable demands he made upon them relative to the pending questions between the two countries. The delays interposed were in part due to the fact that the new Ministry were not familiar with the whole case, but as he had carefully explained to them in person and by note what had taken place before, it seems that a captious spirit, on the part chiefly of Lord Eldon, and a studied neglect of the American negotiations, caused the non-action of which Mr. King justly complained. It was merely a repetition of what he had said to his own Government before, that it was hard to bring the British Ministry to take up any matters at this time, except those which required immediate attention, in consequence of their position in reference to the war with France, and the attitude of the continental powers. The further discussion and final solution of these matters must be postponed to the next volume.

APPENDIX I.

CORRECTING AN ERROR IN VOLUME II., PAGE 62.

In *The Nation* of April 10, 1895, there is a review of the 2d volume of this work, which contains a statement of a "blemish," which requires a correction on the part of the Editor, which was made and published in that paper on April 25, 1895, as follows:

". . . There is one 'blemish' which requires a correction inasmuch as there is an inaccuracy in the fact stated, and apparent carelessness on the part of the gentleman who kindly had the Hamilton Papers in the State Department at Washington examined for me, giving me a list of those written by Rufus King. The charge is: 'Nor have the Hamilton Papers been thoroughly searched, as they contain the letters described by the Editor as not to be found.'

"These letters referred to were two written on April 17th and 20th, the year not given, but in 1796, by King to Hamilton in answer to three short letters by the latter, published on page 61 of this second volume. On page 62 the Editor regrets that these letters cannot be found, 'as they must have given some interesting facts, as well as the views of Mr. King relative to the important questions under review. . . . A search for them in the United States State Department among the Hamilton Papers by Mr. Andrew H. Allen, Chief of Bureau of Rolls and Library, at the Editor's request, has been unsuccessful.'

"In this statement there are two serious errors: the first is, that they *are* among the Hamilton Papers in the Department of State; and the second, that in the list furnished to me of the

letters of King, *these two letters* are noted as No. 16, pages 141 and 143 of the Hamilton Papers. Mr. Allen asked me to mark on the list such as I desired to have copied. For some reason, for which I cannot account, possibly because the year in which they were written was not in them, I did not mark the letters for copying and they were not copied ; and as they did not appear among my copies, I must have inferred, most carelessly, that they did not exist. Mr. Allen, against whose accuracy I have most unjustly recorded an incorrect statement, was therefore not in fault, but really placed at my disposal the desired information. I regret that I cannot make this correction where the charge is made, on page 62 of this second volume, but I shall insert it in an appendix to the third, where a copy of the letters shall be placed.

"CHARLES R. KING,
"Editor of 'Life and Correspondence of Rufus King.'

"ANDALUSIA, PA., April 17, 1895."

Hamilton Papers, No. 16, p. 141.

RUFUS KING TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Monday Morning 17 Ap.

In general I agree in the course you recommend. Separate Bills will be reported to the House this morning providing for the Sp. Ind. & Alg. Treaties. They will pass the H. and be to the Senate by the middle of the week. I perceive no impropriety in adding to the first of these Bills received by the Senate, and in succession to each of them if requisite, a provision for the Br. Treaty. Such amendment, if rec'd in the House before they take a question, it is believed would have influence.

[The Merchants and traders' is signed with unexampled unanimity. Baltimore have prepared a similar petition wh. will be very generally signed. Genl. Smith, who is now there, writes that the Treaty has gained many friends, that they are next to unanimous in favor of its execution, that Annapolis is likewise unanimous, and that he thinks nine-tenths of the State are for carrying it into effect. He adds that a memorial has been drawn up and

signed by most of the respectable People in Baltimore, approving the President's conduct in refusing the Papers], that he thinks a counter memorial could be obtained, but that he has discouraged it seeing the necessity of unanimity at the present crisis. He returns to-morrow or next day & will be zealous for the execution of the Treaty. His friends may be induced to act upon his mind, which balances, so as to decide it. Adieu.

R. KING.

(Addressed) Free. R. King—Alexander Hamilton, Esq., New York.

(Endorsed) R. King, Esq.—Rufus King, April 17, 1796.

Hamilton Papers, No. 16, p. 143.

Wednesday 20. Ap.

The Petitions of the Merchants and others will be presented to-day, and it is said they have been signed by almost every Merchant and Trader in the City. Pettit, Barclay and some few others are exceptions. A counter Petition has been very industriously carried through the City and its suburbs ; and though very few Merchants, Traders, or principal Mechanicks have signed it, it will show a long catalogue of Names. The persons engaged in this service have been very successful in the Northern and Southern Liberties, and taking their stands upon the wharves, they have collected the names of sailors and others, as well foreigners as Citizens. Baltimore has become very jealous, and I fear from the displeasure at the conduct of Colo. Smith, they have hazarded his vote and influence whatever it may me [*sic*] in the Question of Provision for the Treaty. They have drawn up a Paper, which is signed by almost the whole body of Merchants, in which they request *and instruct* him to promote by the proper provisions the Execution of the Treaty. His inclination was in favor of a Provision, but I am apprehensive, his Pride will be so wounded by *this instruction* that he may vote against his judgment to prove his independence. We shall probably receive from the House today a Bill making an appropriation for defraying the Expences of carrying into effect the Sp. Treaty.

We shall amend it by adding a provision for the Br. Treaty. If the House disagree, we shall adhere, and they will lop the Bill

by refusing our amendment. We shall then add to the Algerine Bill an amendment providing for the British and Spanish Treaties. The House will also decide the Fate of this Bill. We shall then add to the Bill providing for the In. Treaty an amendment providing for the British, the Spanh. and the Algerine Treaties. The House will also decide the Fate of this Bill, we shall then offer them a Bill, providing for all the Treaties ; this likewise they may reject, but my Belief is that the opposition will give way before we have gone through this course. Yrs. &c.

RUFUS KING.

(Endorsed) Rufus King Esq., (No date) April 20. No. 3.

APPENDIX II.

LETTERS FROM PRESIDENT ADAMS TO J. MARSHALL, SECRETARY OF STATE, RELATIVE TO THE 6TH ARTICLE OF THE TREATY OF AMITY, COMMERCE, AND NAVIGATION WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

These letters relate to instructions to be sent to Mr. King to meet the questions which had arisen in the discussion of the suspension of the Commission on the 6th Article of the Treaty between him and Lord Grenville ; the particulars of this discussion had been reported to his Government in his dispatch No. 67, April 22, 1800, p. 222.

JOHN ADAMS TO J. MARSHALL, SECRETARY OF STATE.*

QUINCY, August 1, 1800.

DEAR SIR :

I have twice read the despatch of Mr. King. No. 67. . . . I am glad to see that Lord Grenville expressed his opinion that the new board ought to proceed in a different manner from their predecessors, by deciding cases singly, one after another, instead of attempting to decide by general resolves and in classes.

The idea of paying a gross sum to the British government in

* *Life and Correspondence of J. Adams*, vol. ix., p. 68.

lieu of, and in satisfaction for, the claims of the British creditors, seems to me to merit attention and mature deliberation. There will be great difficulties attending it, no doubt. How can we form an estimate that will satisfy the American government and the British government? How shall the claims of British creditors be extinguished or barred from recovery in our courts of law? Shall the claim of the creditors be transferred to our government and how? or shall it be a total extinguishment of debt and credit between the parties? How will the British government apportion the sum among the British creditors? This however is their affair. You ask an important question, whether such an arrangement can afford just cause of discontent to France. But I think it must be answered in the negative. Our citizens are in debt to British subjects. We surely have a right to pay our honest debts in the manner least inconvenient to ourselves, and no foreign power has any thing to do with it. I think I should not hesitate on this account. The difficulty of agreeing upon a sum is the greatest; but I am inclined to think this may be overcome. If nothing of this kind can be agreed on, and the British government refuse all explanations, I think good faith will oblige us to try another board; and I have so little objection to the modes of appointing a new board, suggested to Mr. King by our government, or by the British government, that I am content to leave it to Mr. King to do the best he can.

J. Adams to J. Marshall, Secretary of State.*

"Aug. 11, 1800.

". . . On the 1st of August I wrote you on the subject of a sum in gross to be paid, instead of going through all the chicanery, which may be practicable under the treaty. I most perfectly agree with you and the heads of department, that the proposition merits serious attention. My only objection to it is one that cannot be seriously mentioned. I am afraid that as soon as this point of dispute is removed, such is their habitual delight in wrangling with us they will invent some other. Some pretext or other of venting their spleen and ill humor against us they will always find. This, however, cannot be gravely urged as a reason

* *Life and Correspondence of John Adams*, vol. ix., p. 72.

against settling this quarrel. I am willing you should write to Mr. King instructions on this head. Take the opinions, however, of the heads of department on the letter before you send it. If they are unanimous with you for going as far as a million in the latitude given to Mr. King in the negotiation, I will agree to it."

Mr. Marshall on 23d answered:

"I understand your opinion to be that the explanatory articles, if attainable, are preferred to any other mode of accommodating the differences which produced the dissolution of the board lately sitting at Philadelphia; and that the most eligible mode is the substitution of a sum in gross as a compensation for the claims of the creditors of the United States. On this idea the letter to Mr. King is drawn. For many reasons I am myself decidedly of the same opinion, and I believe there is with respect to it no difference among the heads of department."

J. ADAMS TO J. MARSHALL, SECRETARY OF STATE.

QUINCY, Aug. 21, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

I received last night your letter of the 16th. I am well satisfied with all its contents. The only thing which requires any observation from me, is the proposed instruction to Mr. King. As far as I am able to form a conjecture, five millions of dollars are more than sufficient, provided the British creditors are at liberty to prosecute in our courts, and recover all the debts which are now recoverable. I agree, however, with the heads of department, that it is better to engage to pay by instalments, or otherwise, as may be agreed, the whole sum, than to be puzzled and teased with a new board and two or three years' incessant wrangles. I should be for instructing Mr. King to obtain the lowest sum possible, but to go as far as five millions rather than fail. I wish Mr. King may be furnished with as many reasons as can be thought of for reducing the sum. I pray you to prepare a letter to Mr. King, as soon as possible; and as we are all so well agreed in all principles, I do not think it necessary to transmit it to me, &c &c.

J. ADAMS TO J. MARSHALL, SECRETARY OF STATE.

QUINCY, 30 August, 1800.

DEAR SIR:

My ideas are perfectly conformable to yours in your instructions to Mr. King, as you state them to me. The explanatory articles, if attainable, are preferable to any other mode. The next most eligible is the substitution of a sum in gross, that sum to be as small as can be agreed to, or will be agreed to, by the British government, but to agree to five millions of dollars, rather than fail of explanations and substitutions both, and be compelled to agree to a new board, and all their delays and altercations. . . . Mr. King's letter of the 5th of July is a melancholy picture of Britain. Alas! how different from that held to view in this country, twelve months ago, to frighten me from sending to France! However Mr. King is somewhat of a croaker at times. He is apt to be depressed by what he thinks a train of unfortunate events. There is, however, enough of likeness in his drawing to give great spirits and a high tone to the French. It will be our destiny, for what I know, republicans as we are, to fight the French republic alone. I cannot account for the long delay of our envoys. We cannot depart from our honor, nor violate our faith, to please the heroic consul (Bonaparte).

APPENDIX III.

This appendix will contain extracts from a memorandum book of Rufus King in which he recorded, as will be seen, the conferences with the English ministers and other interesting matters on the days of their occurrence. They formed the basis of much of his official correspondence with the Secretary of State, sometimes in full, at others with explanations, which though interesting were not always necessary for his reports. The dates of those here given are earlier than those in the beginning of this volume, and therefore it was deemed advisable to place these extracts together in chronological order until they should correspond with the period covered in this volume.

An explanation of the reason why the memoranda were not published in their proper position is to be found in the fact that in moving the King papers from one place to another, as it has been necessary to do several times, the volume containing them was placed at last in a drawer covered over with other books, and remained undisturbed until a search for other matters revealed it. Its contents are now given. They throw light upon the events of the mission, show the ability with which Mr. King discussed questions which arose, and the confidential and honorable position he occupied at the Court of St. James, and give anecdotes of distinguished men.

"I met Lord Cornwallis at St. James, when he was to take leave on his departure to India : he came to me and told me that he had examined, as far as he had been able, the claim of the No. Carolina Moravians for payment for supplies furnished his army on their march through that country : That he did not think they had been paid, certainly they were not paid at the time, for he had no money in the military chest, and he well remembered the supplies in the Moravian towns from this particular circumstance. The rum or whiskey they found among the Moravians was so plenty, that the army got drunk and he was very uneasy lest Gen. Green shd. attack him when the army were in a condition unable to resist."

April, 1797.

General Baron Hompesch, a German who served in the Prussian and Austrian Armies, and who raised several corps now in the Br. Service, called on me to ask my aid to carry 600 Germans from San Domingo (where the Regiments to wh. they belong are disbanded) to America. I told him that I had no authority to make any arrangements of this nature. He afterwards wrote me a note requesting me to recommend his project (which was to settle these Germans on new lands) to such persons as I supposed likely to engage with him. I replied that Sir F. Baring had lately purchased lands in America and I had understood that Mr. Hope was concerned with him, but whether they would engage in his project I could not say.

Afterward the General called on me and told me he shd. go to St. Domingo by Philadelphia, and asked letters, which I gave to Mr. Bingham & Col. Hamilton.

May 3, 1797.

Mr. West called on me—we entered into politics after speaking of the Dinner at the Royal Academy and of the Annual exhibition ; Mr. West said things respecting Amer. had changed very much ; that people who cd. not formerly find words of unkindness eno' now talked in a different language ; that the King had lately spoken in the most explicit manner of the wisdom of the American Gov. and of the abilities and great worth of the characters she produced and employed. He said the King had lately used very handsome expressions respecting Mr. Jay and——and that he also spoke in a very pleasing manner of Mr. Gore.

But that in regard to Genl Washington, he told him since his resignation that in his opinion "that act closing and finishing what had gone before and viewed in connection with it, placed him in a light the most distinguished of any man living, and that he thought him the greatest character of the age."

Mr. West then observed that he had been very peculiarly circumstanced ; that he loved his own country, that he had always felt the warmest attachment to it ; that he owed much to England ; that he from a child had loved, honored & revered the House of Hanover ; that the Quakers were all attached to that House ; that moreover the King had been his friend ; that but for him he should have been ruined ; that plots against him had failed only by the faithful regards of the King ; that his intercourse gave him frequent opportunities of seeing and hearing things of which others were ignorant. That the King was a good man, an amiable and virtuous character ; that he was step by step led into the Amer. War ; that Lord Mansfield was a principal agent and with the Scotch faction were the authors of the Amer. war.

The King was persuaded that ¾ of the Americans were agt. the claims of the Colonies ; that a few unquiet and disaffected characters throughout the country were alone active or engaged in the disturbances and that the mere appearance of force, a few regiments only, and a firm language wd. chase away the agitators and restore quiet and universal loyalty.

That after the few disasters which happened in the scheme of coercion, he was still told that a small additional force wd. be sufficient, that a vast majority of the colonists were *his friends*, that they were kept in awe by the violence of a few persons in the several colonies, and that, if these characters were firmly opposed, peace and order wd. return, that at an early stage of the war, the King asked him, whether "Washington aimed at Sovereign Power"; on wh. occasion he told the King that his means of information were good, that he "felt great confidence that he was not deceived, and that from the language and opinions of those who would not mislead him, he was satisfied that Washington entertained no wish to put himself in possession of Sovereign Power, and that the power conferred upon him would be relinquished with more pleasure than it was recd."

At a later stage of the War when Lord Mansfield made a celebrated speech concerning Amer. in the House of Peers (called the Rubicon speech) the King said to him, Have you seen his speech (Lord M's) this is very different from what they have always told me. Mr. West added that the Friends of the Amer. War made the King believe that $\frac{4}{5}$ths of the People of America were his friends and in opposition to the Patriots and that ambition alone actuated Washington. In this belief the King used to say to him, "Can I doubt my friends, ought I not to protect them?" and alluding to Washington's aiming at a separation in order to become the Amer. Sovereign he said I never will submit to that; I will go myself, I will put myself at the head of my Armies and reduce my enemies. The retirement of Washington from the army affected the King, but he was silent to Mr. West upon the subject. The late resignation wh. corresponded with what West had told the King led him to speak to him on the subject and to take notice of what he had predicted.

After the Amer. War, said Mr. West, the King resolved, and, by the prosperous course of affairs under Mr. Pitt's administration, he was confirmed in his purpose, never again to go to war during his reign. Pitt likewise determined to build his fame on a policy of peace. It was therefore with the greatest difficulty that the King was persuaded to engage in war agt. Fr. The Queen was early disposed to take a part: formerly she did not interfere much in politics; but during the King's derangement

she had great authority and influence with him; the projected Regency confirmed that influence, and, tho' the King is restored, he has not been able to free himself from the controul of the Queen. . . . But Pitt, who had been placed at the head of affairs while still a youth, who had caused the nation to flourish so much and so soon after the waste of the Amer. War, and who had with such firmness and wisdom rescued the King, during his derangement, from a scheme of Regency that would entirely and forever have excluded the King from the Throne, was firmly opposed to the War.

The French Emigrants, some of the dignified Clergy and the remnants of the authors of the Amer. war all conspired to represent the situation of France to be such that a fair occasion was presented to retaliate upon her the injury she did England by the countenance and aid given to the Americans. The same false representations were made to the King now, as had been made in respect to the Amer. War. France was exhibited as divided, convulsed, impotent, her enemies numerous, powerful, united, and a single short bloodless campaign was alleged to be sufficient to restore France, not to what she was, but to a situation of more security to her neighbours, and that shd. insure the continuation of the ancient order of things within his dominions. Under this expectation the King consented to the War, and it is said that Mr. Pitt was rendered less obstinate by the gift of the Cinque Ports. The division that soon appeared among the coalition (the Imperialists summoning in the name of the Emperor one fortress, the English in the name of the King another, the Prussians in their right a third, and the Emigrant Corps conceiving that the restoration of the Monarchy and not the Partition of France was the object of the war) disappointed all hopes of the speedy termination of the war which had been promised and by the continuation of military operations gave an opportunity to the unforgiving enemies of America to project a scheme of revenge against that country. This considering the past, and viewing the existing state of things was not difficult; tho' America conducted with great prudence and her Government early and easily resolved to remain neuter, yet the intrigues of the French agents in Amer., the sympathy that in the commencement of the French revolution all Americans felt for the French, whom they saw, as they be-

lieved, struggling agt. ancient abuses & oppression, and to whom they wished success, gave occasion to those, who sought for it, to represent the Amer. neutrality as fraudulent—advantageous to France but as detrimental to England as an open war. In this belief the treatment of Americans in the same manner as Frenchmen was natural enough. Hence originated the speech of Lord Dorchester to the Indians, hence the order of the 6th of November 1793. England at this time and for several months afterwards, and until she began to experience defeats and disasters in the war with France, meditated and intended a war with America. Even when Mr. Jay arrived in England this opinion prevailed. A cabinet council hesitated concerning (if they did not decide) the recept. of Mr. Jay, even after he had landed at Falmouth. The disasters wh. about this period happened to the Allies in Flanders, added to the loss of Toulon wh. happened in Dec. inclined the balance to moderation, Mr. Jay was received on the 18th of June 3 days after his arrival in London, and 10 days after he landed at Falmouth; the negotiation commenced and ultimately terminated in the American Treaty.

Reflection—This anecdote concerning the intention to have gone to war agt America, places in the strongest light the wise policy of Mr. Jay's mission, which carrying with it the most decisive evidence of moderation and a desire to remain in peace, more than the disasters of Toulon or of Flanders, influenced and restrained the Ministry. The nation at large had no desire of another American war, and the Ministry would not have dared to make such a war after the mission of Mr. Jay, wh. would have refuted all conjectures and imputations of a desire in Amer. to engage in the war. But it is far from being certain that the Br. Cabinet desired or meditated a war against the U. S. It is confidently said that the orders given to Lord Dorchester did not authorize him to make the speech he did make to the Indians; and in respect to the advance and taking post at the Miami it was repugnant to his Lordship's orders shewn to me in the Duke of Portland's office. Lord Dorchester had asked the question whether he might advance beyond the old line and was answered that the old posts were to be retained & defended, but that they must not be passed and that he must not take any new post within the American boundary. General Simcoe confirmed to me and said if war had followed Lord Dorchester wd. have forfeited his head.

It seems, however, difficult to understand how L. D. ventured on the measure, hostile certainly it was, wh. he took. Might there not have been secret orders which were repugnant to those shewn to me? Compare the speech of L. D. and his proceedings together with the order of the 6. of Nov. 1793 agt. the American Commerce, with the conduct of the British Diplomatic agents at Stockholm, Copenhagen, Genoa & Florence which held this language that whoever was not against France was on the side of France and that every State, instead of remaining neuter, was bound to take the side of France or her enemies.

The failures of the Allies in Flanders and at Toulon altered this mode of thinking wh. grew out of the Treaties agt. the power of France concluded in 1793, between England, Russia and Prussia, the Emperor, Portugal & Spain; all of which aimed explicitly at the destruction of the trade of France and of that of every other State wh. sh. attempt to trade with France. See the instruction of the Empress of Russia to her Admiral wh. explains the views of the coalition more distinctly than any other document. The order of Nov. 6. 1793 proceeded from this confederacy and was recalled when all hopes began to fail and not before!

July 13.

The King to-day spoke to me of Mr. Adams' Speech delivered at the late extraordinary meeting of Congress. It was Mr. Adams' first Speech. The King said he liked the Speech; that he thought it shewed great dignity, and stopping a moment in his conversation he added that he thought the Speech had more dignity in it than he had seen in Genl. Washington's Speeches; whether as Washington had commanded the army he thought it advisable to avoid the appearance of authority, or from some other cause, he could not tell, but in his opinion Mr. Adams' Speech bore a greater air of authority and firmness than he had seen in any Speech of Washington. I said no one was better able to form a sound opinion concerning his country than Mr. Adams was, and having calmly made up his mind, no one had more firmness. The King then, rather archly, with a wink of one of his eyes, took notice of the difference in the address in Mr. Adams' Speech from that of his Predecessor, Mr. Adams having used the word "Gentlemen" & not those of "fellow citizens," and then proceeded with the observation that small circumstances

of this sort often had a great influence on pub. opinions; he then asked concerning the manner in which the President was received when he delivered his Speeches, whether the members were attentive to their dress on that occasion, whether the President came with any attendants & in full dress; I satisfied him in these Enquiries, and he concluded by saying that tho' these were things in themselves indifferent, still that an attention to them or an omission of them, had a much greater effect in favor of or agt. the just authority of Magistrates than was commonly supposed.

July 29th, 1797.

Doct. Davies the Provost of Eton College, with whom I made an acquaintance at Mr. Anstey's invited Anstey, Gore, myself and our wives to come to the Eton election and to take our quarters at his Lodge.

We accepted his invitation and went today. This College is a noble institution, it contains about 400 boys from 7 to 19 years old. 70 are on the Foundation, who lodge and dine in the College; the others are called oppidans, live in the town and are instructed in the College. Formerly the education was not expensive, at present it is otherwise; for mere board and instruction the charges will reach 80 Guineas a year. Some boys spend £150, or 200 a year. Nothing is taught here but Latin & Greek. The School or College as it is called certainly turns out a great many excellent scholars, and as the sons of the nobility and of others who are the most distinguished in the Govt. of the country are educated here, it may be advisable for an Englishman to send his children to this Seminary, since their early connections may prove advantageous to them at future stages of their lives.

Ten or twelve years of the life of a young man seems too long a space to be given to the mere acquisition of dead languages. . . .

Nov.

Col. Trumbull who had been to Stutgard returned by Paris from whence he arrived on the 11th. . . . He brought me no letter from the Envoys.* He however had seen and confidentially conversed with them: his report was this:

* He brought a cipher dispatch from the Envoys to be sent to the Secretary of State.

The American Envoys after sending a note to Mr. Talleyrand (the Min. of For. Affrs.) announcing their presence in Paris, waited on him at an hour named for that purpose when they delivered a copy of their commission &c. Mr. Talleyrand said he was preparing a Report on the subject of the U. S. to be presented to the Directory, and as soon as he had delivered it, he shd receive their orders concerning their mission. Mr. Talleyrand said something concerning Cards of Hospitality wh. were afterwards sent to the Envoys naming them in their public character. Trumbull left Paris more than a month after the arrival there of the Amer. Envoys.

Some days after the interview with Talleyrand Mr. Hotanger and Mr. Bellamy, men in the intimacy of Talleyrand, with Mr. Dotville also of Talleyrand's acquaintance made frequent visits to the Envoys, which resulted in giving them this information, that in order to enable them to conclude a Treaty &c. or in other words to settle all misunderstandings, they must pay down a million of Livres to be distributed among such persons as Mr. Talleyrand shd. select; that the U. S. must likewise agree to make a loan of money to France, and these points being acceded there wd. be no difficulty in respect to the terms. After repeated conversations which connected these propositions with the Office of For. Affairs, the Amer. Envoys gave a decided negative to them, and caused it to be signified to Mr. Talleyrand that they shd. hold no other conversations with any persons except such as shd. be regularly and fully appointed and authorized.

Trumbull dined with Talleyrand who said that our Envoys were slow, that they must come to some conclusion soon—that Frenchmen were impatient and decided as well as acted with promptitude.

Trumbull replied that they were men of great prudence & would weigh well every step in order that they might not pass over their instructions.

Talleyrand said people who were going 3000 miles from home shd. act on discretion, and that they shd. not be confined by instructions. The conversation of Talleyrand confirmed the truth of the propositions made in his name to the Amer Envoys, and discovered his impatience that they had not acceded to them. He said nothing of the letter that I had written to him, asking a passport

for Trumbull. Paine (Thomas) was at Paris and went occasionally to visit the Envoys. He cautioned them to avoid Trumbull, wh., he said, was suspected to be sent to Paris by me. Gerry answered with spirit, and even supposing this to be the fact, what and who forbids an intercourse between the mins. of the same nation residing in difft. countries. When Trumbull left Paris, the probability was that the Amer. Envoys wd. be sent away.

Soon after Trumbull's return, or a little before it, Lord Grenville informed me that France had lately renewed her demand of Spain for the cession of Louisiana. (See my letter to the Secy of State.)

Some days after this communication Ld. G. informed me that Portugal paid down a considerable sum to obtain his Treaty and that this money enabled the Directory to march the army wh. effected the Revolution of the 4th of September.

In a letter (in Genl. Pinckney's cipher) I sent these two important facts to the Amer. Envoys in Paris.

Dec. 23d.

Col. Trumbull who had once or twice before told me that he had information that proposals of Peace had been made thro' Talleyrand to the Br. Govt. informed me this evening that such proposals had last night been answd. in the negative by this Govt. The terms offered were more favorable than those demanded at Lisle by Ld. Malmesbury, and the price or bribe of a million sterling to be divided among Directory, ministers & others; Talleyrand's Department to share £100,000 sterg.—Hotanger & Bellamy (the same persons as were sent by Talleyrand to our Envoys) began this project with Williams the agent of Beckford at Paris. Williams was so sanguine that the Br. Cabinet wd. accept the project, that he went so far as to engage to pay down £10,000 sterlg. in case the Project was distinctly made and authenticated by Talleyrand. This was agreed to by Talleyrand. The papers were given to Williams of whom the £10,000 Sters. was asked. He gave a check on his Banker at Paris; but before making it felt some doubt whether he was not going too far, he sent for his Banker and instructed him to refuse his check on such reasons as were plausible and would the least compromise the drawer. The Check or Draft was accordingly refused, and

Williams stated that he had no other means than to proceed to Engd., where he could at once present the project and command funds. He accordingly came to Engd., and the project was thro' Beckford presented to Mr. Pitt, who was the person that last night gave a negative answer to Beckford. Trumbull recd. this account in order to be communicated to me, from ———, who saw and read all the papers.

Dec.

The Speaker (Mr. Foster), in a conversation at Dinner at the Master of the Rolls, said upon my making a query respecting the policy of the King's subscribing to the voluntary contributions, that the King had no money ; that the revenues of Hanover were all spent in a parade court which was kept up there, and that the £60,000 Sterg. which was all that went to his privy purse annually was barely sufficient to defray the expenses to wh. he was unavoidably exposed. I replied that there was an opinion that the King had hoarded and that he was rich, and that even I had heard persons of some consideration say so, and point out Lord Liverpool as having the King's confidence in the management and security of his property. The Speaker said that he was well satisfied that the opinion was quite ill founded in respect to his riches, and that with regard to Lord Liverpool, he rarely saw the King, that there had been a time when from the influence of Lord Bute, Lord Liverpool (then Hawkesbury or Jenkinson) might have had a certain connection or a degree of confidence in the King's affairs ; but that *Pitt* (who said the Speaker you will naturally suppose sees everything that is going on) had told him that the King rarely or never sees Lord Liverpool, who was of a certain consequence in reference to commercial regulations, but in other respects wholly a negative character in the Cabinet.

It was at the same dinner at the Master of the Rolls, that the Speaker, mentioning Lord Cornwallis in terms of approbation, said to me, you certainly know the singular circumstance that occurred to him concerning the Amer War. On my answering in the negative, the Speaker said, Cornwallis was in the very beginning opposed to the measures agt. America and protested against them. Lady Cornwallis, who was about the Queen & the Court and who was tenderly attached to her Lord, became extremely

anxious lest her husband shd. be called upon to serve agt. the Americans, whose cause he thought well of. Being in favor with the Queen she imprudently insinuated to her Majesty the embarrassments to wh. Ld. Cornwallis wd. be exposed sh. he be required to serve in Amer. and in this manner desired to engage the Queen's influence to prevent his being called into that service. Ld. Cornwallis by some means obtained a knowledge of this imprudence of his wife, saw with anxiety the dilemma to wh. it had exposed him and decidedly immediately as the only means of preserving his character as a soldier to solicit a command in Amer. which was immediately given to him. The consequence was that Lady Cornwallis saw in its true light the indiscretion of which she had been guilty and very soon after died with grief and distress at her own misconduct.

Jany 24th, 1798.

Dined at Lord Bathurst's, Mr. Pitt, Dundas, the Chief Justice, Master of the Rolls, Adml. Colpoys and the Speaker were the Party. The evening was pleasant because the conversation was without reserve and carried on as a meeting of public men, who had been school fellows and early friends. Sitting next Mr. Pitt he answered my enquiries with freedom respecting the state of things upon the Continent, and particularly concerning the probable fate of Hamburgh wh. according to the last accounts, it was his opinion, was not in so dangerous a situation as we had apprehended. Hopes were entertained, that Denmark wd. shew some spirit and be disposed to aid the King of Prussia in maintaining the neutrality and safety of the North of Germany.

Mr. Pitt after referring to the Law proposed by the Directory affecting neutral ships laden with the manufactures or productions of Eng. or of her dominions, said he earnestly hoped that we shd. see this subject in its true light. My answer was that I thought I could not mistake the opinions and conduct of our Govt. wh. wd. be to resist with force a pretension so totally repugnant to the rights of peaceable and independent states.

Mr. Pitt then said that they were about regulating by a new law the business of Convoys, that it was their intention to compel all their ships to go under Convoys, that some of the regulations in their proposed system must depend on the opinions and per-

haps the co-operation of other friendly nations—that if the neutral affected by the projected law of France (and if particularly America wd. do so) and wd. agree to furnish a naval force proportionate to their means, to be employed as Convoys, there would be little difficulty in frustrating the views of France and of effectually securing even beyond what it had been, the commerce of the neutral nations; for that Eng. herself was able to convoy the trade of the neutrals, wh. she wd. be willing to do, and the contingent or proportion of naval force, wh. in case of such convention wd. be required of the neutrals wd. be nominal rather than real; that it shd. be something was of importance both to the neutrals and to the effect desired in this respect to be made in France. Such a system of Convoys might in this way be divided as wd. give full security to neutrals and increase even that wh. Engd. would give to her own ships; because certain of the regulations wh. will be requisite to inforce the system of Convoys must depend upon the consent and co-operation of the neutral Govts. (alluding I presume to the proposed regulation of refusing an entry to a vessel that had refused convoy, or having taken it, had by design or accident parted from it until the convoy to wh. she belonged or shd. have been attached shall have arrived).

Mr. Pitt added that he hoped I saw and believed and knew to be the case, that all the passions wh. once unfortunately existed here concerning America were extinguished, and that, without in his belief the exception of a single character of any sort of influence, the desire and the hearty & earnest wish of England was to increase and perpetuate the friendship with America. If, said he, there is any one event more than another that cd. inspire the Eng. nation with confidence and enthusiasm in the present struggle, it wd. be to find themselves engaged with America against a common enemy.

Tuesday Jany 30. 98.

It is a fortnight or more since Mr. Calhoun (James jr. of Baltimore) who had passed from Dover to Calais in expectation of being allowed to enter the French Republic in order to claim certain property captured by their cruizers, informed me that in the same Packet Boat in which he returned from Calais to Dover General Miranda came to England. I had heard nothing respect-

ing Miranda since the Treaty between Spain and France until his name was published as concerned with others in the pretended conspiracy defeated by the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor (4th Sept. 1797). Miranda had formerly been in England and left it dissatisfied. He was engaged in a project for the liberation of S. America under the auspices of France in the first stages of the French Revolution, and afterwards served in the French Army under Dumourier in Flanders. Having been in the French service during the present war, it was plain his coming to Engd. must be with the knowledge of the Eng. Govt.

Several hints and suggestions from high authority have induced me to believe that Engd. is desirous of attempting to separate So. America from Spain; and that the ministry calculate upon the probable co-operation of the U. S. of A. I have therefore been attentive and inquisitive concerning the motions of Miranda.

This forenoon Miranda called on me, and after a few observations respecting our former acquaintance in Amer. wh. was very slight, he turned to the state of our affairs with France; spoke of the great misfortunes to wh. we had been exposed by our two appointments to that nation. Morris without discretion had openly adhered to the Court at a moment when it was falling, and Monroe had acted as the agent of an Amer. faction instead of representing the sentiments and protecting the interests of his nation; that it was, however, now too late to correct these false steps, and it was useless to complain, or to hope that any means that wd. be yielded to by Amer. wd. prevent an open rupture—perhaps good might even proceed from it. France is lost and all the continent is nearly in the same situation. Nothing can save them. But Liberty, rational Liberty, order and Government will survive the ruin that awaits the nations upon the old Continent.

England will be able upon a certain system to preserve her Government and property; to do wh. she must cease to regard Europe and look to the New World. She does look with anxiety to the U. S. and *desires* to cultivate their friendship and to establish the most perfect harmony with them. If the U. S. and Great Britain shd. be driven by joint operations to oppose France, nothing will then be more easy than to separate So. America from Spain. I have, said Miranda, been with Mr. Pitt. We have again come together, tho' I was ill used on a former oc-

casion. The Nootka Sound business was a mere pretence ; we intended to have severed So. Amer. from Spain, but Mr. Pitt relinquished the plan. But he now goes into it with zeal. I have gone over with him the whole project—nothing is so practicable —the population of the Span. Territories on the Contt. of Amer. is equal to 10,000,000, 4 millions of whom are descendants of Spaniards, the others are Americans. They are, however, civilized and capable of being happy as members of a polished Society. Every thing is ripe for the completion of the plan. Twenty five Commissioners, now in Madrid, have lately sent to me to cooperate with them and others in making So. Amer. independent. There can be no disagreement between S. and N. Amer.—the Mississippi is a strong marked and natural boundary, and the state of society in the Northern and Southern Departments is such that they must be mutually useful to each other and cannot be rivals.

Spain has take the very grounds wh. give to the U. S. of America a just as well as a convenient reason to go to war with her.

I have, continued Miranda, as yet taken no measures to develop the plan to the Amer. Govt. All must first be arranged here with the Br. Government. I shall, if you will allow me, said Miranda, communicate to you more fully what passes & is likely to be arranged with Mr. Pitt and his associates, and at a proper time I shall dispatch a confidential person to Philadelphia.

I think more passed at this interview than I here report, but the above is an outline. I joined in the conference so far only as gave an opening to Miranda to explain the object of his visit. It is my duty to understand what is meditated upon this very important topic, but it wd. be wholly improper in any degree to commit my country or myself.

Upon an intimation from me that Engd., I suspected, wd. engage in the project under the influence of her commercial monopoly system, and if so that the U. S., as well indeed as So. America itself, might feel no strong or peculiar regard in its favor, Miranda said this had been formerly the error of Engd., but that it was now abandoned and that the benefits derived from the trade of the independent U. S. of America had gone far to persuade her that her former system and wishes were erroneous.

After mutual expressions of civility the conference ended.

In a conversation with Lord Grenville, Mr. King writes:

Feby. 1st.

I touched upon Miranda's being here. Lord G. immediately entered into a conversation respecting him and his project. I found the turn of his mind not favorable to Miranda's character. I spoke with reserve concerning the project, said I had seen Miranda, who without in any degree knowing anything of my way of thinking disclosed his project and spoke of his expectations from Engd. In order to understand Lord G., I said that I did not sufficiently understand Miranda to appreciate with any degree of confidence his character, but that the enterprise was one of immense size and wd. lead to inconsiderable and unimportant consequences.

L. G. immediately said that he wd. without reserve say to me that at this moment he did not much like the scheme. Perhaps the attempt might lead to scenes of wretchedness upon our continent similar to those that had been exhibited in France; that the event wd. happen & cd. not long be delayed. The terrible examples of France would in the minds of prudent men inspire doubt whether the present moment was in all respects that wh. wd. be wished in order to consummate the Independ. of So. Amer. I carelessly said that we had a great interest in keeping as far as possible from us the examples that had lately been given in France and must therefore sincerely hope that they might not be repeated in our neighbourhood.

Feby 8.

I returned Gen. Miranda's Visit. . . . He asked me if in my dispatches I had mentioned him and his project? I replied that I had in a summary manner. He then read to me so much as he had of a letter to Col. Hamilton (wh. on my return home he sent to me to be forwarded). It spoke of a letter or two that he had written to the Col. from Paris, to wh. he had received no answer; hinted at his project and observed that Harper's Pamphlet had done much good in Europe.

We pretty soon fell into a conversation upon his plan. I asked him if he had thought of a scheme of Govt. in case of success. He answered that he had and that his part of his project was now in circulation with the others among the Cabinet. I proposed, sd. he, a Monarchy with a House of Lords and Commons.

It is immaterial who is king, all we want is an hereditary House. The family of the Incas still exist; I will do them justice so far as it is now practicable, and call them to the throne of their ancestors. The Nobility will be found in the country and may easily be brought into their proper place. The Representatives will be chosen upon a safe and convenient plan. Do you propose to unite Mexico to Peru under one Govt.? The population of both does not exceed 14 millions and my idea is to unite them in one Govt. What of the Brazils? Nothing for the present: that will come afterwards. Where will you make your descent? On the E side of the Isthmus of Darien. Is there not a considerable force there? Perhaps 1400 men and many of the Officers are in our plan. What force will you want? I have required of Engd. 8000 foot and 2000 horse; but they shd be seasoned or W. Ind. Troops: besides this Engd. must send a small squadron into the Pacific Ocean wh. must appear on the Coast of Peru—and from the U. S. we should want 5000 Woodmen or soldiers who understand new countries—besides I should hope for many of the old Amer. Captains and Majors who served in the last war. So. Amer is now weak, their best troops having been sent to relieve Manilla. We shd. effect the emancipation without shedding blood.

What benefit do you hold out to Engd to induce them to aid you? Our future trade in common with the U. S. of Amer., and in order to avoid the never discharged claim of gratitude, I propose to pay them in ten years thirty millions sterling. We shd. impose a toll on the Passage of the Isthmus over wh. all the trade to and from Asia will pass. Upon the Eng. & Amer. (that is U. S.) goods say one per Ct., on those of others one & ½ per ct —this however is mere illustration. The Mississippi must be the boundary between us—and with respect to the Islands, excepting Cuba, we care nothing about them; they will be worth little after Sh. Amer. shall be free. The Sugar, Coffee, Cotton and other tropical productions whereof will be eno. for all the World.

Feby. 12.

Miranda called on me today and shewed me an instrument executed in France in Dec. 1797 by him and two other Spaniards, who qualify themselves as the agents of a Congress or society of their countrymen now at Madrid, and as Commissioners or agents

of the Span. Provinces in So. America. (Mr. King gives the substance of the instrument similar to that Miranda had explained in the previous conference relative to the expectations from G. B. & the U. S.) The articles contained various other regulations which we read thro'; after which he asked me how far I approved them; I replied that it was best in all measures, and especially in those of great importance to deal with frankness; I therefore would say that it gave me pleasure to renew my acquaintance with him and that I was of course gratified in knowing what was on the tapis concerning So. America; but I should lead him perhaps into an error and fall into one myself, if I did not say that I had not the least knowledge of the sentiments of my own Government upon the business in wh. he was engaged; and that therefore I could not be supposed to make any observations or express any opinions that in any manner wd. commit my Govt. After saying this I shd. have no reserve in conversing with him, and shd. moreover be glad to know how he shd. find the sentiments of this Govt.; that he would however naturally suppose that I might think it my duty to apprize the Prest. of the U. S. that he was here and entertained hopes that G. Britain might cooperate in a plan for the emancipation of his country.

Miranda consented to our conversations standing on this footing.

He spoke of Monroe and of his having applied to him by letter to procure information that Hamilton had given him certain papers to deliver to certain characters, or to be made use of, in Engd, respectng the U. S. So. Amer. & England. He said he had given him a proper answer, and sent to Hamilton as well the copies of Monroe's letter as of his answer. He said further that Monroe had contributed to mislead the French in their opinions of the U. S.; that Boissy d'Anglas told him that Monroe had publickly said in the presence of the French leaders, that Washington was "an Intrigant and an Aristocrat"; that this character was ascribed to Washington by the principal Frenchmen, who had no hesitation in quoting Monroe as their Authority.

P. S. Miranda in a subsequent conversation told me that Boissy informed him that Monroe in the presence of the Comitt. of Pub. Safety, said that Washington and his party in the Amer. Govt.

were aristocrats and intriguers—Trumbull was present when Miranda made this communication.

Feby. 15.

In a conference with Ld. Grenville on other subjects, I said I see Miranda is still here. Ld. Grenville immediately replied that they had concluded to keep him here; that if Spain shd. be able to preserve her independence and prevent a Revolution in her Govt., they shd. not enter into the project respecting S. Amer.; but if it was really to be apprehended Spain shd. fall beneath the control of France, then it was their intention to endeavour to prevent France from gaining to their cause the resources of So. America. In this event they shd. immediately open their views and commence a negotiation upon the subject with the U. S. At present considering the risque of seeing the example of France repeated in So. Amer., and that too under an aid and countenance of G. Br., they thought it impolitic to engage in the plan of Miranda. My business was to gain information, I was therefore silent; but this tenderness for Spain adds something to the evidence before the public, that notwithstanding Spain and England are at war, there is a secret understanding between them that on the one hand restrains Spain from a vigorous and hearty cooperation with France, and on the other induces England to do as little injury to Spain as possible.

Feby. 15.

Count Staunburgh (the Austn. Minr.), in a conversation relative to the late peace between Austria & France, said the Emperor is weak & honest. The Empress has great influence over him and she has affections for other interests than those of Austria. M. Thugut was deceived; he thought M. de Gallo was a plain, simple, honest man, when in fact he is a cunning Italian. When M. Thugut sent de Gallo to the Camp of Buonaparte he gave him ostensible powers only; but there is reason to believe that he had secret instructions from the Emperor, obtained clandestinely by the Empress. It is plain that he, contrary to Thugut's Sentiments or expectation, concluded a Treaty. Cobenzel was then sent to Adina with de Gallo. Whether he was bribed or not cannot be proved; but he is poor, had been expensive and did, at this epoch, pay off a Debt of 400,000 Roubles

that he owed in Russia. No one can account for the means wh. enabled him to do so, and perhaps he is injured in the supposition that they were supplied by Buonaparte. He however co-operated with de Gallo, and while Thugut was contriving to defeat the Treaty Cobenzel definitively concluded it; and what is more he has succeeded to the influence in the Cabinet of Austria that belonged to the integrity and firmness of Thugut.

March 20.

Our Convoy for America will probably sail from Spithead today, as the wind is N. E. I should record the fact that this convoy was wholly unsolicited, except by the merchants and underwriters. Tho' I had determined not to suffer our spring ships to sail without asking a convoy, in case it shd. not be voluntarily offered, and took this decision immediately after the passing of the Fr. law for the capture of all neutrals laden in whole or in part with merchandize of the manufacture or production of Engd. or of her Dominions, I also determined not to make the request until the last moment. It never became necessary and was not therefore made.

Conversing on the 20. Feby with Ld Grenville, relative to affairs on the continent, Ld. G. said among other things.

In respect to Sweden France seems to have acquired her former ascendency and of course nothing can be expected from that quarter. No more decisive proof of this could be given than the appointment of Baron de Stael, the Swedish Ambassador to France. Sweden had ordered her Chargé d' Affaires to announce the accession of the young King—France refused to receive the Chargé d'Affaires, on the pretence that he was not of a grade usually sent in former times to the King of France to announce a similar event. An apparent misunderstanding took place in consequence of this measure between Fr. & Sweden. Count Fursen was sent to Rastadt—Buonaparte treated him as all the world knows. Afterwards Noel, the Fr. Ambassador at the Hague, intimated to the Envoy of Sweden there, that Fr. was desirous of exchanging Envoys with Sweden, and that the appointment of the Baron de Stael (who every one knows to be devoted to Fr.) wd. be considered by the Directory as a proof of the friendship and good disposition of the King of Sweden.

Sweden readily agreed to send and receive an Envoy to & from Paris and proposed to send M. d'Asp then in London as Envoy, (who sd. Ld. G. is likewise in sentiments a Frenchman) to Paris; the Directory refused to receive him, and gave it to be plainly understood that they wd. receive no other person except the Baron de Stael. Sweden has named the Baron de Stael its Envoy to Paris with an intimation that he shd. make two conditions with the Directory previous to his presenting his credentials. One that Count Fursen shd. be recd. at Rastadt, another that Noel shd. not be sent to Stockholm. The Baron de Stael has presented his credentials and been recd., without receiving either of the Conditions. The inference Ld. G. made was that little vigour wd. appear either in Sweden or Denmark in opposition to France.

March 23d.

It is four or five days since Miranda called on me, and after saying that he had concluded to send one of his associates who was now here to So. America in order that their friends might be exactly informed of the situation of Europe and the probability that Engd. and perhaps the U. S. would assist them in throwing off the Government of Spain, he observed that he intended to send his companion first to Philadelphia; and as he had now wasted two months to know Mr. Pitt's determination, he had drawn up a memorial to him calculated to ascertain it; he had the draft which he read to me. The part thereof, that announced his intention to send a person to So. America by the way of Philadelphia asserted that I wd. give to this person "letters of recommendation." I told Genl. Miranda that I thought it wd. be desirable to omit the clause wh. asserted that I wd. give a letter of recommendation, and to say that the person went to Philadelphia with my knowledge—avec la connaissance de Mr. K. &c. After some farther conversation he altered his draft accordingly. A few days after he sent me a French paper printed in London, wh. speaking of the invasion of Portugal, suggested that the Court and Grandees of Portugal, with the Navy, &c. wd. retire to Brazil and endeavour to overthrow the Span. Govt. in So. Amer. This project might go further; they might endeavour to bring abt. an alliance between Engd. & No. & So. America, wh. wd. be able to resist the power of France.

The morning after sending me this paper he himself called on me and said he had sent his memorial to Mr. Pitt, and instead of saying that the person to be sent to Philadelphia wd. proceed avec la connaissance de Mr. King, &c, he had said "avec lettre de M. King," &c; tho' I did not entirely approve of the alteration, I took no notice of the change. He then shewed me the draft of the letter with wh. he intended to charge the person going to Philadelphia (and who, he said, wd. depart in the next Packet for New York) to the President.

The draft was proper, and by reference to the copies of the Précis that had been given by him to Mr. Pitt, which he said he shd. transmit with the letter to the President, he disclosed his whole project. I did not discourage this measure, as in the actual state of our affairs with France & Spain it appeared to me advisable that our Govt. shd. possess an exact view of the probabilities of the separation of So. America from Europe. I, however, resolved to take an early opportunity to speak with Ld. Grenville or Mr. Pitt upon the subject, lest there shd. be an opinion entertained that I was forming any authorized arrangements with Miranda, and to say sincerely that my wh. object was to give to the President an exact knowledge of what appeared to be passing upon this very interesting and important subject.

March 26, Wednesday.

I called this morning on Ld. Grenville and explained to him the import and extent of my Conversation with Miranda, and that the letter wh. I should give to Mr. Caro wd. be merely introductory, without either approbation or disapprobation of the object of Caro's visit to Philadelphia. We spoke of the situation of our affairs with France, and I suggested to Ld. G. that according to my view of the subject it did not appear improbable that our Envoys might remain in Paris until they heard from home.

Respecting S. Amer. Ld. G. repeated to me the sentiments that he had expressed on a former occasion. If Spain falls beneath the power of France, England who is prepared, will begin the business with So. Amer.; and according to present appearances, Spain is on the eve of a Revolution. The new French Ambassador Truguet has been received at Madrid, he appeared at Court in his boots and upon its being remarked that this was contrary

to the usage of the Court, he replied that all that folly was passed and that the Ambassadors of the Great Nation could not pay any respect to customs so little reasonable & so perfectly frivolous.

Ld. Grenville said he had no hesitation to tell me that they had lately made an offer to Spain to save So. Amer. from the approaching Revolution & to defend it from French intrigues and attack, if Spain wd. resist the French and join in a common effort to save Portugal; but that there was not a likelihood that Spain would adopt the plan. . . .

Speaking of Amer. his Lordship asked me if I had heard any cause assigned for Liston's absence from Phila.? I answered in the negative. He said it was very odd, and that he did not send him there to make the tour of America.

May.

The publication of the instructions and correspondence of the Envoys from the U. S. to France has been read with great avidity in this country. Mr. Sheridan said to Mr. Long of the Treasury, "I quitted the Jacobins in season; they must be given up; the American Negotiation is too strong to be denied or explained."

The King in his conversation with me appeared much pleased with the discovery that the firmness &c of the Amer. Govt., especially in their determination to fulfill the Treaty with Engd., has had its effect in confirming the good will of many persons towards the U. S.

Mr. King, in dispatch No. 69,* March 17, 1798, to the Secretary of State, had written that the English Government would soon bring before Parliament a bill imposing a $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. impost upon the exports and imports of Great Britain to afford convoys to the neutral trade, and to pay the expense thereof; and again on May 11th, that Mr. Pitt would next week bring this matter before Parliament. On May 21st Mr. King, the bill having been introduced and adopted by the House of Commons, sent to Lord Grenville a memorial protesting against its provisions as injurious to the United States and contrary to the spirit and provisions of the

* Vol. ii., p. 290, of this work.

treaty between the United States and Great Britain relative to their commercial regulations. The memorial is a very long one, as is also Mr. King's dispatch of June 1st to the Secretary giving an account of an interview with Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt on May 25th for the purpose of discussing the project as passed. But in the Memorandum Book there is a report of this interview more succinct, but covering the chief points, which is here given.

May 25th, Friday.

By appointment met Mr. Pitt & Lord Grenville at Mr. Pitt's on the subject of my memorial of the 21st.

Mr. Pitt said that in respect to the Impost on Imports so far as the discrimination on Cotton * was concerned it was in fact the same Ad Val. Duty, and the sums were for simplicity, but that it might be thrown into a difft. shape.

EXPORT DUTY.

That he hoped on consideration that I shd. not see the proposed Tax so objectionable as I had done ; that in the first place there was no restraint upon them in the Treaty wh. could prevent them from adopting, consistent with good faith, the proposed Tax ; that the Treaty only restrained them and us from prohibiting the exportation by either of articles permitted to be exported from our respective countries by others, but was entirely silent about equality of Duties and indeed concerning Duties on Exports ; that the reason was undoubtedly a sufficient one that had induced the U. S. by a fundamental law to abstain from Duties upon their Exports ; that Great Britain had no such law, nor was she restrained except by what she shd. deem sound policy from imposing a Duty on her Exports ; that the sum she wd, impose must therefore be regulated by those mere considerations of policy wh. are applicable to the Question ; that I had intimated in my Memorial the principal motives wh. influenced them in proposing a discrimination ; it was alleged that their manufacturers experienced a great competition in the European markets but not in those of America, and in addition to this opinion it shd. be understood that the Tax was merely a war Tax, and though not

* The memorial had objected to the Duties as affecting injuriously various articles in the trade between the twc countries—manufactures, tobacco, Cotton &c.

coupled with, yet to be considered in connection with the protection in the shape of convoys, wh. it was intended shd. be afforded to the Amer. as well as Br. trade ; that we had already a proof that they were disposed to give to our ships the same convoy as to their own, and that they shd. continue to do so, and tho' the proposed Duty on Exports to Amer. was higher than that on Exp. to Europe that it was the same as they had laid upon their own colonies and upon other consumers in America ; and that on the whole he hoped we shd. perceive the measure to be one that in their present situation they could not give up.

I replied, after relating what I had said in my Memorial, that tho' there was no express restraint in the Treaty equivalent to that contained in our Constitution, still however from the obvious intention of the parties to render reciprocal the advantage of their commerce, I must infer that we could not have expected to have been subjected to this Tax, more especially at a moment when the interruption & embarrassment of the manufactures of other nations did not leave us as wide a field in wh. to seek supplies as heretofore was open to us. But if this consideration was given up and if from the want of attention to and foresight of the present state of the trade and manufactures of Europe we omitted to secure ourselves by an express stipulation agt. a duty upon the Exports of G. B. to the U. S. in like manner as Great Br. is secured by our Constitution agt. such a Tax on our productions exported to them, we certainly could not be mistaken in our interpretation of the Treaty, discovered from the admitted object and tenor of its provisions, that we shd. not be liable to pay a higher Duty upon the Exportation to the U. S. of their manufactures than was paid on the Exp. of like commodities by other nations : that on this point I would venture to assure him there could not be a difference of opinion in the U. S. ; that I did know that they supposed that their custom was as good, and they believed better than that of any other nation, and that we considered ourselves entitled to as favorable terms in our intercourse as those enjoyed by any other nation ; that the case of their Colonies did not at all apply to or illustrate ours : they might make such regulations and require such contributions from them as they shd. deem advisable, but that we had neither inclination, nor were we in any way bound to, stand on this footing ; that in respect to the Convoys we certainly had been obliged by that wh.

had been granted, and I understood the assurance of their disposition to afford them in future as a proof of their friendship, but that the proposed Tax was an independent measure and moreover that we might be disposed to arm our Vessels or convoy our own trade, or, if an open war shd. take place, to enter into certain arrangements on that subject in wh. we might afford a naval force proportionate to our means for the common defence of our commerce. In such event, so far as the proposed Tax is deemed a compensation for convoys furnished by G. B., it would cease to operate; that besides we raised our revenue principally by a Tax on Imports; that we carried it as high as we found the commodities wd. bear; that if we had raised the Tax as high as in reference to the consumption it wd. bear, it was plain that an imposition of 3 pr. ct. or any other sum upon the Export of the Com. wd. in that, and indeed in somewhat a greater proportion increase, the price of the Com., and wd. compel us to reduce the Duty on the Importation in the same degree.

If they had the right, not restrained by Treaty, to impose this Tax, the policy of exercising it when its operation wd. be such as I had pointed out and wh. could not fail to excite sentiments not altogether cordial, wd. merit consideration.

Mr. Pitt expressed his regret that I supposed the measure wd. be likely to be not well received, restated some of his former observations, said that we must be sensible of the necessity they were under of having recourse to all the means that were fairly within their reach of obtaining supplies; that the measure in contemplation was a very important one, and that as he did not see how he cd. give it up he hoped it might not create the difficulty that I apprehended.

He then observed that he hoped the proposed Tonnage Duty wd. not appear as exceptionable as that on Exports and proceeded to state what it was. I replied that as I had before observed in my memorial that we were restrained from augmenting during the war & for 2 years afterwards the Duty now paid on British ships; that the reciprocity of this restraint ought to exempt us from any augmentation of the Tonnage now paid in the Brit. ports by Amer. ships, more especially considering the disparity that now exists in consequence of our paying the countervailing Tonnage Duty in addition to double Light money: but if I was

answered here also as in the case of the Tax on Exports, that there was no restraint upon G. B. in the Treaty that prevented her imposing or augmenting the tonnage on Amer. ships, I wd. appeal to the first clause of the XV Article thereof agt. the proposed Duty on Amer. ships, as the proposed Duty on ships from the U. S. is 2/ per ton, and that on the ships of Portugal and some other European Powers is only 1/ per ton and the clause of the Treaty wh. I quoted entitles us to come hither with our ships on the payment of the lowest Duties paid by any for. nation.

Mr. Pitt said if such was the Treaty the discrimination must be given up. After some further observations of a general nature we separated, I having observed to him on parting, that the proposed discrimination on the Exports gave me very much inquietude, as I cd. not be mistaken in the light in which it would be seen and considered in America.

June, 1798.

Observing that the alterations that I had expected had not been made in the Convoy Bill, wh. had been the subject of my note to Lord Grenville and of the conference with Mr. Pitt, I wrote one or two private notes to the Office of For. Affairs upon the same subject, and at the desire of Mr. Ross (Mr. Pitt continuing indisposed and not able to attend Parliament) I met him at Hammond's office. Our conversation was materially the same as that wh. I had held with Mr. Pitt, tho' Mr. R. understood much less of the subject than Mr. Pitt.

I did not perceive that the requisite alterations had afterwards been made, tho' it was about to receive its last reading, and therefore I addressed another note to the office of For. affairs expressing my surprize that the amendments had not been made that from my conference with Mr. Pitt I had supposed wd. have been adopted. This produced a request to meet Mr. Pitt again, wh. I did this morning 18 June.

Mr. Pitt, without adverting to our objection agt. the Export Duty, said he was in hopes that I should agree with him in the construction that seemed to him to be the true one to be given to the clause of our Treaty respecting the Tonnage Duty wh. I had supposed repugnant to the proposed Duty that they thought of imposing on our vessels trading to and from America.

The clause asserts that neither nation shall impose on the ships

of the other a higher Duty than is paid on the *like ships* of other nations—what was intended by the *like ships* in his understanding, is meant vessels of other nations in the *like circumstances* ; that is that all vessels in the Amer. trade shd. pay the same Tonnage Duty, and that all in the trade of Portugal shd. pay the same Tonnage Duty, but that as a vessel in the Portuguese trade was in different circumstances from a vessel in the Amer. trade, the Duties might be different ; all that was required to fulfil the Article being that the ships of all nations employed in a given trade shd. be liable to the same Duty—tho' the Duties might vary in different branches of trade ; besides that this construction wd. be found to operate equally among new and distant nations : their object was to lay a given sum upon all vessels within a year. But as the near nations make many & the remote few voyages within a year, in order that each shd. annually pay the same Duty per ton, the rate must be less on the ships of the first and greater on the ships of the latter.

I replied that I must admit that this construction had the merit of novelty, but that notwithstanding I was in hopes I shd. be able to satisfy him that it must give place to one that was rather more obvious as well as more correspondent to the views of the parties. The stipulation is that the goods and ships of each shall be admitted by the other on the payment of as small Duties as the like goods and ships of any other nation. We don't find a word about the goods and ships " in like circumstances " of any other nation : this is an addition to the text and when added gives it a different signification from what it bears without such addition. The sentence is a complex one and the word *like* on which he relied was rather applicable to goods than to ships, tho' like ships might fairly and really must mean ships of the same character and burthen. In China it seems they impose the Port Duty according to the number of masts of a vessel and a regulation of the same sort formerly prevailed in France, and perhaps elsewhere, without having any reference to burthen or tonnage.

Two objects were plainly in view in respect to the navigation of the parties, one (which I have before contended was defeated by the opposition of any further Duty on Amer. ships) that in respect to the commerce between the U. S. and G. B. the ships of each shd. be liable to the same Duties ; the other and

the principal object of the stipulation that the ships of neither shd. pay a higher Duty than those of any other nation—and this latter object is secured by the plain interpretation of the terms of the Treaty, which says we shall not pay for our ships a higher Duty than is paid on the like ships of any other nation—by wh. can only be meant (consistently with the end of the stipulation) ships of the like tonnage and burthen ; for if the construction suggested by Mr. Pitt is established, it will be competent for Cong. to impose a moderate Duty on ships trading between France or the French Colonies and the U. S. and a heavy one on the ships trading between G. B. or her colonies & the U. S., and the discrimination may be carried to a length, if the Congress is so disposed, that shall annihilate the trade between the U. S. and G. B. Again if the construction is true in respect to ships, it is likewise so in respect to goods, and a higher Duty may be imposed, on goods coming from G. B. to the U. S. than on the like goods coming from France. In short it wd. change a general Rule of great comprehension and wh. secures material points, to a narrow Rule in the observance whereof the parties can have very little interest.

For it is of comparatively small importance to G. B. whether all nations are alike capable of carrying his merchandize to the Amer. market on equally advantageous terms, or whether it is confined to themselves and to the Americans ; but it is of great consequence that their merchandize does not pay higher Duties than those of other countries, inasmuch as by the discrimination wh. might be established, the rival manufactures, tho' themselves postponed to those of G. B., may be alone consumed in America ; that in a few words as well the object of the stipulation, as its plain and literal meaning forbid a discrimination between the goods and ships of either and those of every other nation. The proposed Tonnage Duty is a discrimination and therefore repugnant to the stipulation.

Some further but immaterial remarks were exchanged, and the conference ended, both Lord Grenville and Mr. Ross being present, but silent, by Mr. Pitt saying that they wd. give the subject a further consideration, when I shd. be informed of the result.

At a later date. P. S. The discrimination was given up by Mr. Pitt and the Bill passed agreeable to our construction.

Sept. 22. Mr. King, in reporting a conference with Lord Hawkesbury, partly summarized in his letter to the Secretary of State, notes this in his Memorandum Book:

I took occasion to speak of Louisiana and to intimate our aversion to any change in that quarter; we disliked the reported transfer to France, shd. use amicable means to prevent it, and shd. in short be unwilling that Louisiana shd. pass into the hands of new proprietors. He said that there could be no doubt that France had obtained a cession of it. I asked if it was likely that means wd. be used by Eng. during the war to prevent the French from taking possession of it, or, in other words, whether England had any views of taking possession of Louisiana. Ld. Hawkesbury replied that among other military projects wh. had been before them one, and a well conceived one, for this purpose had been offered: if the war went on and the French were expelled from Egypt, they shd. have an army, a fine army, perhaps the best army in the world, at their disposition; how they should employ it must depend on several circumstances and among others upon the situation of Portugal. He thought it absurd to send there 3 or 4 thousand men, who wd. not defend the country and must be disgraced, but the country was in itself strong and might be defended by a suitable force. With regard to foreign conquests, he had a fixed opinion that they did not want adl. colonies—colonies to a certain extent were if well governed useful, but if multiplied too much and widely dispersed it was only extending the points wh. they wd. be obliged to defend, and weakening the Empire. France, however, seemed at present to entertain different opinions and notwithstanding her encrease of territory near home, was never more solicitous to obtain distant and numerous colonies. At present Eng. had no thoughts of an expedition to the Mississippi and they wd. adopt one at no time but with the view of holding something to give up at Peace.

Oct. 15, 1798.

Mr. Hammond informed me that the Portuguese Minister, lately arrived and dismissed from Paris, was permitted to come only when Azara, the Span. Min. at Paris, assured the French Govt. that the *usual* presents would be given by Portugal on the conclusion of a Treaty.

The next memoranda are sketches upon which are based the dispatches to the Secretary of State, relative to the propositions for laying taxes on sugar, and more particularly to the condition of St. Domingo and its future as affecting Great Britain and the United States.

Jany 5, 1799.

Mat. Montague, my neighbor, in a conversation in a walk in H. Park, speaking of different public characters, concurred with sentiments that had formerly been stated to me by Wilberforce respecting Lord Grenville; and alluding to the negotiations of Ld. Malmesbury said that both Pitt and Dundas on that occasion wished to have got rid of Grenville, between whom and Pitt a real coolness took place that lasted for some time.

Pitt, he thought to be in his heart and principles a *good* man; Dundas like all Scotsmen was fond of power and patronage. The Cabinet was a divided one and Pitt was so imprudent as to say in the H. of Commons at the time of the mutiny at the Nore that the navy had gone entirely out of his hands.

Windham was unsteady, subtile and not of great authority. Lord Spencer was a diligent, able and very honest man, much influenced, however, by his Irish wife, who had great vivacity and is extremely capricious. She is said to have patronized Nelson and in that instance has shown discernment. The Chancellor is not a reputable character; he is a pretty speaker and plausible orator, but he discredits his office by frequenting gaming houses and being present at other scenes unbecoming the gravity of his station. Speaking of the colonial system he said it was unreasonable, unjust and must soon come to an end. When Liverpool and a few others are gone it will cease also.

Jany 6, 1799.

Sir Wm. Poulteney said in conversation: . . . Pitt is a great man in the H. of Commons, but he is not a bold man; this has been proved again & again. When Grenville came in he looked over the Department and finding a consul (Mr. Baldwin a very clever man) at Cairo with a salary of £1000. a year from Govt. and of £500 from the E. Ind. Co, he said we have no employment for a Consul at Cairo; and contrary

to the particular desire of Mr. Dundas he withdrew the salary in consequence of wh. Baldwin returned home and when Nelson's fleet arrived at Alexandria, there was throughout Egypt no Eng. Consul or agent who could give the Admiral information or procure him supplies, for the want of which, instead of remaining a while in those seas, he was obliged to return to Sicily.

Nelson was so mortified and disappointed that, when going the second time to Alexandria, he told his officers that they must put everything at hazard to accomplish something brilliant without wh. they shd. never dare shew their faces in England. The same parsimony prevented our having a Minister at Constantinople. Mr. Liston left Smith Chargé d'affaires, but he was wholly unfit as well in rank as in other respects for the place. Jackson was named Ambassador; the practice has been to pay £1000 Stg. and the Levant Company to make the sum up to £——.

The Company said the Mediterranean was completely in the hands & power of the French, their trade at an end, & therefore they cd. not continue to support the Embassy. Ld. Grenville wd. neither admit this excuse nor supply the deficiency. No Ambassador was sent and the Porte was left to the control of the French—who have lost their game by over-confidence!

Jany 16, 1799,

Lord Grenville, in conversation held this day, said: An event has lately occurred at N. Yk, alluding to the death of the Eng. Consul, Sir J. Temple, that he could not avoid saying, did not inspire regret, and then added that several persons had been recommended to succeed to that office, and without asking the opinion of the Amer. Minister he wd. beg me to tell him my opinion of Hamilton, the present Br. Consul at Norfolk and Major Barclay, formerly of N. Yk. and lately in the Commission for the St. Croix Boundary, between whom he hesitated. I said I knew nothing of the first, that I did not remember to have heard good or ill of him; the reference then was in favor of his conduct where he is. That I had seen Barclay, but personally knew nothing of him, that he was a very fair and I had often heard an amiable character. His family were quite respectable in N. Yk, connected with our best people, and that among my

friends I recollect some who have a great attachment to Maj. Barclay. He was what was called a Loyalist, but I considered him such from correct principles, and so far as I had information wd. be as little liable to objections on that acct. as any one of that class.

L. G. said that they were bound to say and act upon the idea, that the King was right in the controversy, at least so far so as not to proscribe from office the whole class of Amer. Loyalists, tho' it might be, & was a question of policy whether they shd. be employed in America ; that where there were particular exceptions to individual characters it wd. be inexpedient to name them, and the case of Arnold was instanced : but where such did not exist they in justice shd. confound the Amer. Loyalists with the mass of Br. Subjects. His Lp. then said he was glad I thought of Barclay as I did, as he felt rather a preference in his favor.

Jany. 24. 1799.

The King told me today that he had read the President's Speech and that he found it an able, wise and excellent one. The Duke of Clarence afterwards said to me that he could wish to see such a Speech in this country, or in other words that the King should say he was willing to make peace when the French asked for it. In the course of conversation the King spoke of the proposed Union with Ireland and said that the Speaker (Foster) who opposed it, when here a few weeks since, told a Bishop that for the Empire at large the measure was a good one, but as an Irishman he could not consent to it, and that the Bishop replied that his opinion that it wd. be for the welfare of the whole convinced him that it was his duty to agree to it. The King said that a certain Marquis (a manner of speaking to describe the M. of Lansdowne) had lately said that at present real estates in Ireland were worth but 17 years' purchase, while in England they were 34 years' purchase ; that an Union wd. raise the Irish Estates in one year to 20 and very soon to 25 years purchase, and such an effect must be beneficial to Ireland. On its being observed that the Marquis was a calculating head the King replied, Yes, yes, he is a calculating head, and, notwithstanding the benefit to Ireland, may find out motives to oppose the measure.

Conversation with Mr. Montague:

Jan. 27th. 1799.

After speaking of the news from Ireland and Naples—the question of Union carried only by 106 agt. 105, and the King & Queen of Naples obliged to save themselves by taking refuge aboard the Vanguard, Ad. Nelson's ship, we fell into a miscellaneous conversation. Mr. Montague said that the Union must be suspended for the present in Ireland, but that the advantages of it might be examined and displayed in the Eng. Parliament; that it was a difficult affair; that it was doubtful how far the people of Ireland would be benefitted; that originally (referring to the views of Mr. Pitt on the subject about 1791) Mr. Pitt certainly had it in contemplation to raise the Catholics from the degraded political state in wh. they are by giving them a limited portion of political power & influence; but that the chiefs of the Protestant party opposed him, and those of them who have lately been here for the purpose of discussing and preparing the subject, each requiring in the first instance an arrangement for himself, his family and dependents, and putting private entirely above all public considerations, that it was extremely difficult to ascertain and measure the portion of public benefit or general advantage that wd. or cd. be secured for the people of Ireland.

Mr. Montague agreed with what had been stated to me by Mr. Chs. Abbot (M.P.), that Foster laid patriotism entirely out of sight & acted from personal motives among wh. vanity is most predominant; that it is customary under the denomination of Improvements & other covers, to annually expend among the Members of the Irish Parliament & their connections, for the purpose of preserving to the Crown a majority, two hundred thousand pounds Sterlg., and that Foster had the chief agency in this distribution; that this gave him an influence and authority wh. were highly flattering to his vanity, and in short made him so much more important than he could be with anything that could be given him under the Union; that with his sentiments, it was not extraordinary that he shd. oppose the Union, if he was persuaded that the opposition wd. defeat it.

From this subject we went to the character of Mr. Pitt, and after observing that the unfortunate situation of Naples wd. be

ascribed to G. B., who is believed to have excited and encouraged the King of Naples to commence the war, I said that I had understood that Naples herself had asked the aid of Engd., and instead of being encouraged was told by Eng. that without the aid of Austria the war wd. be eminently dangerous to the very existence of the Kingdom and that finally after Naples had resolved on the measure Eng. did no more than to promise such succour as the fleet cd. furnish & her influence at Vienna to engage the Emperor; that if this was correct, it appeared to be desirable that the truth shd. be revealed and the character of Eng. rescued from the imputation that wd. be ascribed to her.

Mr. Montague replied that he entirely agreed with me in sentiment, and added that an omission of this nature had early in this war happened that he had always regretted. He said that France had circulated everywhere the opinion that Eng. was actively engaged to unite the surrounding nations in a war agt. France previous to the existence of the present war between Eng. & France; that so far from this being true Eng. was, at the time of the declaration of war agt. Eng. by France, engaged in the most active efforts to persuade the Emperor, Russia and Spain to leave France to herself and to avoid with the utmost scruples all manner of interference with the projects of reform, and that Mr. Pitt had resolved after war commenced to have stated this fact in Parliament, but was prevented by indisposition from attending Parliament at the debate when he had determined to mention it. A former conversation with Mr. Wilberforce confirms this statement.

I observed that with all Mr. Pitt's wonderful talents, there was an opinion that even after great consideration and an opinion honestly and ably formed, he on several occasions had wanted firmness to adhere to it.

Mr. M. said Pitt does want firmness and Dundas is able to shake opinions notwithstanding his superiority in capaciousness of mind over his colleague. Mr. Pitt has no religion, but is a virtuous man. He is ambitious of the fame of great measures but careless and indifferent to reputation obtained by small means. He is proud of the credit of the Sinking Fund, wh. he wishes to be believed the author of, tho' the principles, on wh. it rests, were all taken from Price; he claims with ostentation the reputation of

having originated the thought, and even of having digested the Plan, called the Consolidating Act, bringing into one law the various Regulations of the Customs ; when in truth the idea is an old one and the materials were collected and arranged by Erving. Pitt is disinterested but haughty & overbearing. His friends, except in mere affairs of badinage, must receive and submit to his opinions ; he does not bear opposition and affects, or rather feels, an uneasiness when any one reasons with him.

His earliest political friend was my brother, said Mr. Montague ; he was intimate with him at the period of the Amer. peace and from him I heard that the Marquis of Lansdowne refused to bribe to obtain the approbation of the H. of Coms. to the Amer. Treaty ; overtures were made but refused. Next to my brother came Lord Bathurst, who is a man of humour and disposed to quiping wh. when applied to others Pitt is fond of ; to him succeeded Lord Mornington, who is a man of first rate talents, tho' of a ruined constitution. Then followed Rider and to him succeeded Canning who is a man of taste as a scholar, tho' too metaphorical as an Orator.

Erving, said Mr. Montague is vain, conceited, very able in the statements he makes, but a Tory and devoted Royalist.

Feb. 12, 1799.

I met the Marq. of Lansdowne at dinner at Mr. Nopes (Cav' Sqr.). In the course of a miscellaneous conversation, speaking of the conclusion of the Amer. peace he said he had the greatest difficulties at every step and particularly in respect to the Boundaries ; that in a cabinet on that head he was quite exhausted with efforts to produce an agreement in any demarcation whatever ; that at last the Duke of Richmond said to him if you will suffer me to oppose it after I have traced the Boundary, I will do it at once. I replied, said the Marquis, with all my heart, give us a Boundary and act afterwards as you please. The Duke immediately gave us the present Boundary & the Cabinet agreed. Genl. Howe went to the Chesapeake instead of up the Hudson River from a blunder in the clerks who had not prepared a paper for the signature of Ld. Geo. Germaine, Genl. Howe's instructions. The Packet carried out Burgoyne's and left Howe's.

April, 1799.

On my first going to Court after the news that the Pr. had resolved on another mission to France, I took with me the columns of a Boston newspaper, just received as I was going into my carriage, containing the Prest's. 2 message to the Senate on that subject. The King alluded to the negotiation. I said we had just recd. a newspaper, containing the messages of the Pr., and that I wd. put it into the hands of the Lord in waiting who wd. give it to him. The King thanked me and added that he had some notion that the nomination was a finesse on the part of the Pr. I replied that I did not know the particular facts upon wh. the measure was founded, but that I inferred with much confidence from the Pr.'s character that the nomination was bonâ fide.

In a subsequent conversation on a different day the King said he hoped we shd. not be deceived and wished that our mission might not end like the last attempt of Portugal.

May 2nd.

At a dinner at Lord Grenville's—Lord Auckland's and my family—Mr. King writes that after the Ladies retired a general conversation on politics ensued. It was said:

The affairs of Engd. are most prosperous. Ld Auckland never felt uneasy except at the time of the mutiny. Ld. G. said that was a serious moment, but the stoppage of the Bank much more so. The augmentation of the Army pay was a measure of great risque; it was clamoured for and yielded, a policy always doubtful and in that instance perilous. An anecdote of Mr. Pitt at that moment is curious and is at the same time an extraordinary proof of his firmness and perspicacity. The symptoms of discontent in the army were many and particularly in the Woolwich Corps of Artillery. Ld. Cornwallis, then Colonel, had been sent to soothe them and some very criminal behaviour had been slurred over. In this state of affairs, the mutiny at the Nore at its height, a general officer of great name and rank at two o'clock in the morning arrived express from Woolwich at Mr. Pitt's house, demanded to be admitted and immediately conducted to the Minister: he was carried to Mr. Pitt's room who was in bed. With all the appearance of concern that belongs to the occasion

he told the Minister that he had come with the greatest expedition from Woolwich, that the state of the troops was such that unless a sufficient body of forces was immediately marched to check the revolt, the artillery would themselves march to London with their cannon to demand a redress of what they considered their grievances.

Mr. Pitt, without anything in the General's character to justify the suspicion, immediately concluded from the story and manner in wh. it was related that the General was deranged and accordingly thanked him for his zeal and fidelity, desired him to be again with him at 9 o'clock and went quietly to sleep. In the morning he sent for Ld. G. and one or two others who were present at 9 o'clock, and upon the reappearance of the General they found Mr. Pitt's conclusion to have been well founded.

The notes for the remainder of the year 1799 contain chiefly the drafts of conversations with Lord Grenville on the Treaty with St. Domingo and on the suspension of the Commission at Philadelphia under the 6th Article of the Treaty of Peace. But they are fully reported to the Secretary of State in Mr. King's official correspondence.